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B. H.

**PORCUPINE'S
WORKS;**
CONTAINING VARIOUS
WRITINGS AND SELECTIONS,
EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL PICTURE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;
OF THEIR
GOVERNMENTS, LAWS, POLITICS, AND RESOURCES;
OF THE CHARACTERS OF THEIR
**PRESIDENTS, GOVERNORS, LEGISLATORS, MAGIS-
TRATES, AND MILITARY MEN;**
AND OF THE
CUSTOMS, MANNERS, MORALS, RELIGION, VIRTUES
AND VICES
OF THE PEOPLE:
COMPRISING ALSO
**A COMPLETE SERIES OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS
AND REMARKS,**
FROM THE END OF THE WAR, IN 1783,
TO THE
ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, IN MARCH, 1801.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.
(*A Volume to be added annually.*)

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THE
CENSOR:
OR, A REVIEW OF
POLITICAL OCCURRENCES
RELATIVE TO THE
UNITED STATES
OF
AMERICA.

VOL. III.

B



INTRODUCTION.

NO one, who has been an attentive observer of the violent and dangerous attempts which have been made, and are still making, against the Federal Constitution, and consequently against the peace, prosperity, and happiness of our country, can have failed to perceive, that they had their rise in the deception which has been so industriously circulated through every part of the United States. It is not to be presumed, indeed, that the leaders in this hostile and formidable combination have been deceived: they have long been marshalled and ready for the attack: but it is the delusion, which has been quietly suffered to steal its way among the people, that has called them into the field, and encouraged them to assault first the outworks, and at last the very citadel of our liberties and our lives.

The source of this delusion it is not difficult to discover: we have it continually before our eyes: I mean the *public papers*, and I speak with a very few exceptions.

The General Government adopted the most effectual measures for facilitating the conveyance of information to every quarter of the Union, at the least possible expense. Hence subscribers to papers were found in abundance; and the editors, striking off numerous impressions, were, of course, enabled to furnish them at a low price. The intention

of the Government, as expressed by the President himself, was certainly the most beneficent, that of spreading *true* information and *useful* knowledge among all classes of the community. But what has been the consequence? Exactly the contrary. The French revolution burst forth like a volcano, and its devouring lava reached even us. The editors, perceiving the partiality of the most *numerous* class of their subscribers for this revolution, and all the novel and wild principles it has given rise to, have been seduced, by the love of gain, to flatter that partiality, by extolling those principles at the expense of every thing, their own private interest excepted. Their papers, which swarm like summer flies, are become the vehicles of falsehood in place of truth, of ignorance in place of knowledge. Like the tenebrificous stars mentioned by a celebrated author, they shed darkness in place of light.

A veil has been carefully drawn over the distresses and horrors resulting from the anarchical system of France; or, when this could not be done, when the editors have feared to be anticipated by their fellow-labourers, they have endeavoured to outvie each other in apologies for what ought to have been held up to detestation, or, at least, as an awful lesson to ourselves. Every one, even of the most destructive and impious acts of that pretended republic, has been trumpeted forth as the effect of a liberal and enlightened policy; while no insinuation, no subtilty, no audacious falsehood, has been left un essayed to thwart all the measures of our own mild and wise government, to disfigure its principles, and sever it from the affections of the people.

To countervail the malignant efforts of these retailers has ever been my wish; and, I hope, it will
not

not be thought presumption in me, if I believe that the trifles from my pen which the public have honoured with their perusal, have, in some slight degree, had the desired effect. But, alas! what can a straggling pamphlet, necessarily confined to a single subject, do against a hundred thousand volumes of miscellaneous falsehood in folio? Their sheets, if extended, would more than cover the surface of our country.

In opposing a literary monster like this, I am aware that a Porcupine, with all his quills, can never hope for complete success: but nothing can be accomplished without being begun: I hope to call up abler hands to my aid: to me it will be a sufficient honour to have led the way.

This I shall attempt in a monthly work, of the same bulk and price as the one which is here submitted to the public. In this work I shall take a review of the political transactions of the past month; give an account of every democratic trick, whether of native growth, or imported from abroad; unravel the windings of the pretended patriots, and more particularly those of the *flour-merchants*; and I trust I shall be enabled to give monthly a sketch of political affairs more satisfactory, because more correct, than has ever yet appeared in this country. These will be the leading objects; but I shall exclude nothing not entirely foreign to the nature of the work, that may contribute to the use or amusement of my readers.

The newspapers are supported by subscription, and for that very reason the *Censor* shall not. As long as people read, so long shall I write; and, when the bookseller advertises me that the work lies on his shelf, it will be a very good hint for me to draw in my quills.

Here, then, begins a *bellum eternum* between the fabricating *Quidnuncs* and me.—There is my glove, gentlemen; take it up as soon as you will. You well know that your abuse will infinitely rebound to my honour; and therefore, to silence me, by rendering my work fieril and uninteresting, you are reduced to the cruel necessity of telling the truth.

POLITICAL CENSOR*

No. I.

Meeting of Congress—A Speaker chosen—President's Speech.

MONDAY, 7th December, 1795.

THE House, being met, proceeded to the choice of a Speaker and a Clerk; when Mr. Jonathan Dayton, one of the Representatives for the State of New-Jersey, was chosen Speaker, and Mr. John Beckley Clerk.

TUESDAY, 8th December, 1795.

The Senators and Representatives being assembled in the chamber of the latter, the President of the United States entered, took the chair, and opened the session with the following speech:

*Fellow-citizens of the Senate and
House of Representatives,*

I trust I do not deceive myself, while I indulge the persuasion that I have never met you at any period when, more than at the present, the situation of our public affairs has afforded just cause for mutual congratulation, and for inviting you to join with me in profound gratitude to the Author of all good for the numerous and extraordinary blessings we enjoy.

* This Number of the Censor was originally called *The Prospect from the Congress's Gallery*; and as such it has been sometimes referred to.

The termination of the long, expensive, and distressing war, in which we have been engaged with certain Indians north-west of the Ohio, is placed in the option of the United States, by a treaty which the Commander of our army has concluded provisionally with the hostile tribes in that region. In the adjustment of the terms, the satisfaction of the Indians was deemed an object worthy no less of the policy than of the liberality of the United States, as the necessary basis of durable tranquillity. The object, it is believed, has been fully attained. The articles agreed upon will immediately be laid before the Senate for their consideration.

The Creek and Cherokee Indians, who alone of the southern tribes had annoyed our frontiers, have lately confirmed their pre-existing treaties with us; and were giving evidence of a sincere disposition to carry them into effect, by the surrender of the prisoners and property they had taken.—But we have to lament, that the fair prospect in this quarter has been once more clouded by wanton murders, which some citizens of Georgia are represented to have recently perpetrated on hunting-parties of the Creeks; which have again subjected that frontier to disquietude and danger, which will be productive of further expense, and may occasion more effusion of blood. Measures are pursuing to prevent or mitigate the usual consequences of such outrages; and with the hope of their succeeding—at least to avert general hostility.

A letter from the Emperor of Morocco announces to me his recognition of our treaty made with his father, the late Emperor, and consequently the continuance of peace with that power. With peculiar satisfaction I add, that information has been received from an agent deputed on our part to Algiers, importing, that the terms of a treaty with the Dey and Regency of that country had been adjusted in such
a manner

a manner as to authorize the expectation of a speedy peace, and the restoration of our unfortunate fellow-citizens from a grievous captivity.

The latest advices from our Envoy at the Court of Madrid give, moreover, the pleasing information, that he had received assurances of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of his negotiation. While the event, depending upon unjustified particulars, cannot be regarded as ascertained, it is agreeable to cherish the expectation of an issue, which, securing amicably very essential interests of the United States, will at the same time lay the foundation of lasting harmony with a power whose friendship we have uniformly and sincerely desired to cultivate.

Though not before officially disclosed to the House of Representatives, you, Gentlemen, are all apprized, that a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, has been negotiated with Great Britain; and that the Senate have advised and consented to its ratification, upon a condition, which excepts part of one article. Agreeably thereto, and to the best judgment I was able to form of the public interest, after full and mature deliberation, I have added my sanction. The result on the part of his Britannic Majesty is unknown. When received, the subject will, without delay, be placed before Congress.

This interesting summary of our affairs, with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted; and with regard also to those of our Indian neighbours, with whom we have been in a state of enmity or misunderstanding, opens a wide field for consoling and gratifying reflections. If, by prudence and moderation on every side, the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, which have heretofore menaced our tranquillity, on terms compatible with our national rights and honour, shall be the happy result;

result ; how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid for accelerating, maturing, and establishing the prosperity of our country !

Contemplating the internal situation, as well as the external relations of the United States, we discover equal cause for contentment and satisfaction. While many of the nations of Europe, with their American dependencies, have been involved in a contest unusually bloody, exhausting, and calamitous, in which the evils of foreign war have been aggravated by domestic convulsion and insurrection ; in which many of the arts most useful to society have been exposed to discouragement and decay ; in which scarcity of subsistence has embittered other sufferings —while even the anticipation of a return of the blessings of peace and repose is alloyed by the sense of heavy and accumulating burdens, which press upon all the departments of industry, and threaten to clog the future springs of Government—our favoured country, happy in a striking contrast, has enjoyed a general tranquillity ; a tranquillity the more satisfactory, because maintained at the expense of no duty. Faithful to ourselves, we have violated no obligation to others. Our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures prosper beyond former example ; the molestations of our trade (to prevent a continuance of which, however, very pointed remonstrances have been made) being overbalanced by the aggregate benefits which it derives from a neutral position. Our population advances with a celerity, which, exceeding the most sanguine calculations, proportionally augments our strength and resources, and guarantees our future security. Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement : and with burdens so light as scarcely to be perceived ; with resources fully adequate to our present exigencies ; with Governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, and with mild

and wholesome laws ; is it too much to say, that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equalled ?

Placed in a situation every way auspicious, motives of commanding force impel us, with sincere acknowledgment to Heaven, and pure love to our country, to unite our efforts to preserve, prolong, and improve our immense advantages. To co-operate with you in this desirable work, is a fervent and favourite wish of my heart.

It is a valuable ingredient in the general estimate of our welfare, that the part of our country which was lately the scene of disorder and insurrection, now enjoys the blessings of quiet and order. The misfed have abandoned their errors, and pay the respect to our constitution and laws, which is due from good citizens to the public authorities of the society. These circumstances have induced me to pardon, generally, the offenders here referred to ; and to extend forgiveness to those who had been adjudged to capital punishment. For though I shall always think it a sacred duty to exercise with firmness and energy the constitutional powers with which I am vested ; yet it appears to me no less consistent with the public good, than it is with my personal feelings, to mingle in the operations of Government every degree of moderation and tenderness, which the national justice, dignity, and safety may permit.

Gentlemen, .

Among the objects which will claim your attention in the course of the session, a review of our military establishment is not the least important. It is called for by the events which have changed, and may be expected still further to change, the relative situation of our frontiers. In this review, you will doubtless allow due weight to the consideration that the questions between us and certain foreign powers
are

are not yet finally adjusted ; that the war in Europe is not yet terminated ; and that our western posts, when recovered, will demand provision for garrisoning and securing them. A statement of our present military force will be laid before you by the department of war.

With the review of our army establishment is naturally connected that of the militia. It will merit inquiry, what imperfections in the existing plan, further experience may have unfolded. The subject is of so much moment in my estimation, as to excite a constant solicitude, that the consideration of it may be renewed, till the greatest attainable perfection shall be accomplished. Time is wearing away some advantages for forwarding the object, while none better deserves the persevering attention of the public councils.

While we indulge the satisfaction which the actual condition of our western borders so well authorizes, it is necessary that we should not lose sight of an important truth, which continually receives new confirmations, namely, that the provisions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violences of the lawless part of our frontier inhabitants are insufficient. It is demonstrated that these violences can now be perpetrated with impunity. And it can need no argument to prove, that unless the murdering of Indians can be restrained, by bringing the murderers to condign punishment, all the exertions of the Government to prevent destructive retaliations by the Indians will prove fruitless, and all our present agreeable prospects illusory. The frequent destruction of innocent women and children, who are chiefly the victims of retaliation, must continue to shock humanity ; and cause an enormous expense to drain the treasury of the Union.

To

To enforce upon the Indians the observance of justice, it is indispensable that there shall be competent means of rendering justice to them. If these means can be devised by the wisdom of Congress, and especially if there can be added an adequate provision for supplying the necessities of the Indians, on reasonable terms (a measure, the mention of which I the more readily repeat, as in all the conferences with them they urge it with solicitude), I should not hesitate to entertain a strong hope of rendering our tranquillity permanent. I add with pleasure, that the probability even of their civilization is not diminished by the experiments which have been thus far made, under the auspices of Government. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecaying lustre on our national character, and administer the most grateful consolations that virtuous minds can know.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

The state of our revenue, with the sums which have been borrowed and reimbursed, pursuant to different acts of Congress, will be submitted from the proper departments; together with an estimate of the appropriations necessary to be made for the service of the ensuing year.

Whether measures may not be advisable to reinforce the provision for the redemption of the public debt, will naturally engage your examination. Congress have demonstrated their sense to be, and it were superfluous to repeat mine, that whatsoever will tend to accelerate the honourable extinction of our public debt, accords as much with the true interest of our country, as with the general sense of our constituents.

*Gentlemen of the Senate and
House of Representatives,*

The statements which will be laid before you relative to the mint, will show the situation of that institution;

institution ; and the necessity of some further legislative provisions, for carrying the business of it more completely into effect ; and for checking abuses which appear to be arising in particular quarters.

The progress in providing materials for the frigates, and in building them ; the state of the fortifications of our harbours ; the measures which have been pursued for obtaining proper sites for arsenals, and for replenishing our magazines with military stores ; and the steps which have been taken towards the execution of the law for opening a trade with the Indians ; will likewise be presented for the information of Congress.

Temperate discussion of the important subjects which may arise in the course of the session, and mutual forbearance where there is a difference of opinion, are too obvious and necessary for the peace, happiness, and welfare of our country, to need any recommendation of mine,

United States,

8th Dec. 1795.

REMARKS.—The President's situation was at this time almost entirely new. Never, till a few months preceding this session, had the tongue of the most factious slander dared to make a public attack on his character. This was the first time he had ever entered the walls of Congress without a full assurance of meeting a welcome from every heart. He now saw, even among those to whom he addressed himself, numbers who were ready to thwart his measures, and present him the cup of humiliation, filled to the brim.

Debate (in the Senate) on the Address to the President
in Answer to his Speech.*

FRIDAY, Dec. 11.

The address in answer to the President's speech was taken up by paragraphs.

The two last clauses but one, which are as follows, were moved to be struck out by Mr. Mason :

“ The interesting prospect of our affairs with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted, is not more satisfactory than the review of our internal situation : if from the former we derive an expectation of the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord that have heretofore endangered our tranquillity, and on terms consistent with our national honour and safety, in the latter we discover those numerous and wide-spread tokens of prosperity, which in so peculiar a manner distinguish our happy country.

“ Circumstances thus every way auspicious demand our gratitude and sincere acknowledgments to Almighty God, and require that we should unite our efforts in imitation of your enlightened example, to establish and preserve the peace, freedom, and prosperity of our country.”

Mr. MASON observed, that he had hoped, nothing contained in the address reported as an answer to the President's speech, would have been such as to force the Senate to precipitate decisions. The two clauses he objected to disappointed him in that hope. They were calculated to bring again into view the important subject which occupied the Senate during their June session. This he conceived would an-

* When no mention is made of the House in which the debate has taken place, the reader will please to observe, that it is meant in the House of Representatives.

swer no good purpose; the minority on that occasion were not now to be expected to recede from the opinion they then held; and they could not therefore join in the indirect self-approbation which the majority appeared to wish for, and which was most certainly involved in the two clauses which he hoped would be struck out. If his motion were agreed to, the remainder of the address would, in his opinion, stand unexceptionable. He did not see, for his part, that our situation is every way auspicious. Notwithstanding the treaty, our trade is grievously molested.

Mr. KING observed, that the principal features observable in the answer reported to the President's address, were, to keep up that harmony of intercourse which ought to subsist between the Legislature and the President, and to express confidence in the undiminished firmness and love of country which always characterize our chief executive magistrate. He objected to striking out especially the first clause, because founded on undeniable truth. It only declares, that our prospects, as to our external relations, are not more satisfactory, than a review of our internal situation would prove. Was not this representation true, he asked; could it be controverted? This clause, he contended, contained nothing reasonably objectionable; it did not say as much as the second, to which only most of the objections of the Member up before him applied, an answer to which he should defer, expecting that a question would be put on each in order.

The clause, he said, appeared to him drawn up in such terms as could not offend the nicest feelings of the minority on the important decision in June; it was particularly circumspect and cautious. If liable to objection, it was in not going as far as the truth would warrant.

Some

Some conversation took place as to the mode required, by order, for putting the question ; whether it should not be put on each clause separately, or whether upon striking out both at once.

The Chair requested that the motion should be reduced to writing. Mr. Mason accordingly reduced it to writing, and it went to striking out both clauses at once.

Mr. MASON agreed most cordially that the situation of our external relations was not more a cause of joy than our situation at home. But the obvious meaning of the clause he conceived was an indirect approval of our situation relative to external concerns ; and to this he could not give his assent, as he did not consider their aspect as prosperous or auspicious.

Mr. BUTLER said, that when the Committee was appointed to draft an answer, he hoped they would have used such general terms as to have secured an unanimous vote. He was willing to give the Chief Magistrate such an answer, as respect to his station entitled him to, but not such a one as would do violence to his regard for the constitution and his duty to his constituents. He could not approve of long and detailed answers, however unexceptionable the speech might be in matter, and however respectable the character might be from whom it came. He had hoped, from the peculiar situation of the country, and of the Senate, that nothing would have been brought forward in the answer on the subject which agitated the June executive session, calculated to wound the feelings of members. He had been disappointed ; it was evident, that some members of the Senate could not give their vote in favour of the address in its present shape, without involving themselves in the most palpable inconsistency.

He had long since, for his own part, declared himself against every article of the treaty, because in no instance was it bottomed on reciprocity, the only honourable basis. After this declaration, how could he, or those who coincided in opinion with him, agree to the present address without involving themselves in the most palpable inconsistency?

He did not agree with the Gentleman of New-York, in his exposition of the meaning of the clauses objected to. They certainly declare our situation as to our external relations to be favourable. Our situation, as far as it respects Great Britain, he contended was not in the least ameliorated.—Their depredations on our commerce have not been less frequent of late than at any other period since the beginning of her war with France. Her orders for the seizure of all our vessels laden with provisions cannot surely be a subject for congratulation. When it became authenticated that our trade was relieved from these embarrassments, then he was confident members of Senate, who were with him in sentiment, would readily express their satisfaction at the auspicious prospect opened for this country to the enjoyments of tranquillity and happiness. But until that happy time should arrive, he could not give his voice to deceive the inhabitants of the United States, remote from the sources of information, to hoodwink them by sanctioning with his vote a statement unwarranted by truth, and presenting to them a picture of public happiness not sanctioned by fact.

The sentence objected to, notwithstanding the explanation of the Gentleman from New-York, appeared to him so worded as to lead the citizens at large to believe that the spoliation on our commerce were drawing to a fortunate close. This was not, he conceived, warranted by the existing state of things. Indeed he protested, he knew no more of

the actual situation of the treaty negotiation, than the remotest farmer in the Union: could he then declare, he asked, that it was drawing to a happy close? Indeed, from the latest information received, far from our situation having been ameliorated by the negotiation of our Executive, he conceived our trade as much in jeopardy as ever.

As to the internal prosperity, he owned there was some cause for congratulation; but even in this his conviction could not carry him as far as the clauses in the address seemed to go. In a pecuniary point of view the country had made a visible progress; but he saw in it no basis of permanent prosperity. There were no circumstances attendant on it, that gave a fair hope that the prosperity would be permanent. The chief cause of our temporary pecuniary prosperity is the war in Europe, which occasions the high prices our produce at present commands: when that is terminated, those advantageous prices will of course fall.

Mr. BUTLER came now to speak of the second objectionable clause. He regretted whenever a question was brought forward that involved personality in the most indirect manner. He wished always to speak to subjects, unconnected with men; but the wording of the clause was unfortunately such as to render allusion to official character unavoidable. He objected principally to the epithet *firm* introduced in the latter clause as applied to the supreme Executive. Why *firmness*? he asked. To what? or to whom? Is it the *manly* demand of restitution made of Great Britain for her accumulated injuries, that called forth the praise? For his own part he could discern no firmness there. Is it for the *undaunted* and *energetic* countenance of the cause of France, in her struggle for freeing herself from despotic shackles? He saw no *firmness* displayed on that occasion. Where then is it to be found? Was it in

the opposition of the minority of the Senate and the general voice of the people against the treaty that that *firmness* was displayed? "If it is that *firmness* in opposing the will of the people, which "is intended to be extolled, the vote shall never," said Mr. Butler, "leave the walls of this Senate "with *my* approbation."

He could not approve, he said, of that *firmness* that prompted the Executive to resist the unequivocal voice of his fellow-citizens from New-Hampshire to Georgia. He would have applauded the firmness of the President, if, in compliance with the unequivocal wish of the people, he had resisted the voice of the majority of the Senate, and refused his signature to the treaty.

This was, he understood (and it should be mentioned to the honour of the President), his first intention—Why he changed it, time, he said, must disclose.

He concluded by proposing an amendment to be substituted in lieu of the objectionable clauses, should they be struck out.

Mr. READ said, he was not in the habit of giving a silent vote; and as many of his constituents were averse to the instrument to which he had given his assent, he thought this a fit opportunity to say something on the subject.

Gentlemen on the other side had spoken of their feelings: did they suppose, he asked, that those who were in the majority had not feelings? Also, Gentlemen declared, they would not recede from their former determinations; did they expect that the majority would recede?

He had, he said, taken the question of the treaty in all its aspects, and considered it maturely; and though he lamented that he differed in opinion on that subject with his colleague, and a portion of the people of his State, he nevertheless remained con-

vinced

vinced that the ratification of it was advisable: it rescued the country from war and its desolating horrors.

After reading that part of the President's speech to which the clauses objected to were an echo, he asked, whether any one could say, under the conviction that the measures of Government had prevented a war, that a view of our foreign relations was not consolatory? On all hands, he observed, the idea of a war was deprecated; both sides of the House wished to avoid it: then is it not a consolatory reflection to all, that its horrors have been averted? Is there a man, who does not believe, that, had the treaty not been ratified, we should have had war? If the country had been plunged into a war, would it be as flourishing as it is? The trifling vexations our commerce has sustained are not to be compared to the evils of a state of hostility. What good end could have been answered by a war?—The address, in the part under discussion, says no more, than that we rejoice at the prospect that the blessings of peace will be preserved; and does not this expectation exist?

Great Britain, in the plenitude of her power, had availed herself of the rights she had under the law of nations, of seizing enemies' goods in neutral vessels; but has allowed compensation to some Americans; and a system of mild measures on our part is the best security for further.

He adverted to that part of Mr. Butler's observations, which related to the probable fall of provisions at the peace. We ought not to be grieved if Europe was rid of the calamities of war at that price. But he contended, that from the measures of Administration permanent advantages were secured to this country. The value of our soil has been enhanced; wealth has poured in from various parts of

the globe, and many permanent advantages are secured.

There had been one assertion made, which by repetition had by some almost been taken for granted, but which required proof to induce him to believe it ; and that was, that a majority of the citizens of the United States are opposed to the treaty. In the part of the country he came from he owned there might be a majority of that opinion, but he believed the contrary of the United States at large : he expressed a conviction, that when his constituents came to consider the measure maturely they would change their opinions ; and, indeed, understood that the false impressions by which they were at first actuated were already wearing off.

But the Senate and President are the constitutional treaty-making powers. If mistaken in their decisions, they cannot be accused of having been misled by sudden and immature impressions. He should conceive himself unfit to fill a chair in Senate if he suffered himself to be carried away by such impressions. The people could not, in their town meetings, deprived of proper information, possibly form an opinion that deserved weight ; and it was the duty of the Executive not to be shaken in their determination by tumultuous proceedings from without. Upon this ground he much approved the President's conduct, and thought it entitled to the epithet *firm*.

In local questions, affecting none but the interests of his constituents, he should attend to their voice ; but on great national points he did not consider himself as a representative from South Carolina, but as senator for the Union. In questions of this last kind, even if the wishes of his constituents were unequivocally made known to him, he should not conceive himself bound to sacrifice his opinions to theirs.—He viewed the President as standing in this situation ;

situation; and though he might hear the opinions of the people from every part of the United States, he should not sacrifice to them his own conviction: in this line of conduct he has shown his *firmness*, and deserves to be complimented for it by the Senate.

The address reported, he said, contained nothing that would wound the feelings of any member. The Senate would not, in his opinion, act improperly if they expressed opinions in coincidence with their act in June session. The feelings of the majority should be as much consulted as those of the minority. The minority are not asked to retract; but there is a propriety in the Senate's going as far in their address as the speech went, though it should be styled a vote of self-approbation. He hoped the clauses would not be struck out.

Mr. ELLSWORTH was opposed to striking out. The clause records a fact, and, if struck out, the Senate deny it. The President asserts it; in the address reported, the Senate assent: a motion is made to strike out; is it because the truth of it is doubted? It cannot be called an unimportant fact, therefore its omission will not be imputed to oversight. The latter part of the clause expresses our gratitude to Almighty God. Will the Senate refuse to make an acknowledgment of that kind? Do they not admit that he is the source of all good, and can they refuse to acknowledge it? And if so, is it possible, that, in admitting the fact, and expressing the sentiment which so naturally flows from it, the Senate would wound the feelings of any friend to his country?

The truth of the fact is as clear as that the sun now shines; the sentiment is unexceptionable; he therefore recommended to his friend the mover, not to insist upon striking out merely, but that he should vary the motion, and propose a substitute.

To bring the mind to the point with precision, it was necessary to attend to the wording of the clause.

He read it. As to the signification of that part which relates to our foreign concerns, he did not consider it as hypothetical, but a positive declaration of a conviction that their situation is satisfactory; and on that ground he wished to meet the question.

The clause objected to, expresses an expectation that the causes of external disagreement which have unhappily existed will be peaceably done away. He said he had that expectation; many had it not. Those who have it not will negative the clause, those who have it will vote in its favour: the result will be the sense of a majority. The Senate could not be expected, more than on other occasions, to be unanimous. If the declarations contained in those clauses are supported, they will be considered as the sense of the majority of Senate: others may dissent; but because unanimity could not be obtained, it was no reason why the majority should give a virtual negative to the declaration which they conceived founded on truth.

He examined in detail the situation of our external relations, to show the foundation on which he rested his expectation of a satisfactory arrangement of them, and of our general prosperity in that respect. With Morocco our treaties are renewed. With Algiers assurances are given by the Executive that a peace is not far distant. With Spain, on the same authority it is understood, that our prospects are favourable in that quarter. With the hitherto hostile Indians, a peace is within reach; and the only quarter in which doubt can arise is from Great Britain. But even with respect to that nation his expectation was, that our differences there would terminate amicably; and he believed this to be the expectation of the Senate, as a collective body.

Mr. ELLSWORTH then went into the examination of some other parts of the clause objected to, and vindicated

vindicated the propriety of the epithets *enlightened, firm, persevering*; and concluded by lamenting that there existed a difference of opinion; but hoped that this would not deter the majority from an expression of their sense.

MR. TAZEWELL said, the discussion had taken a turn different from that which he expected when he heard the motion. He understood the motion at the time it was made, and still so understood it, as not intending to question the propriety of any thing which was contained in the President's communication to both Houses of Congress. But from what had been said (by Mr. Read of S. C.), that part of the answer to the President's communications which had given rise to the motion, was intended to have a further operation than he originally believed. He asked what had given rise to the practice of returning an answer of any kind to the President's communications to Congress in the form of an address. There was nothing, he said, in the Constitution, or in any of the fundamental rules of the Federal Government, which required that ceremony from either branch of the Congress. The practice was but an imitation of the ceremonies used upon like occasions in other countries, and was neither required by the Constitution, nor authorized by the principles upon which our Government was erected.—But having obtained, he did not intend now to disturb it.—To allow the utmost latitude to the principle which had begotten the practice, it could only tolerate the ceremony as a compliment to the Chief Magistrate. It could not be permitted to forestall opinions previous to regular discussions, nor to operate as a mean of pledging members to the pursuit of a particular course, which subsequent and more full inquiries might show to be extremely improper.

Every answer, therefore, to the President's communications ought to be drawn in terms extremely
general,

general, neither seducing the President into a belief that this House would pursue a general recommendation into points not at first contemplated by them, nor pledging themselves to the world that that state of things was just which time had not permitted them thoroughly to examine. The clauses now under consideration had at least, in one instance, deviated from this principle. They declare to the world—"That the interesting prospect of our affairs with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted, is not more satisfactory than the review of our internal situation." The communications from the President have not uttered so bold a sentiment, nor is there any thing in those communications that justifies the assertion of this fact. Placing the treaty with Great Britain out of the question, which seems to have been the uppermost consideration when this sentence was penned, the seizure of our provision vessels since the signature of that treaty, and the unwarrantable imprisonment of our seamen, are acts which cloud our prosperity and happiness. The minds of the Americans must be brought to consider these things as trivial incidents in our political affairs, before the sentence under consideration can be approved. He said he must therefore vote for the motion to strike out the two clauses of the answer, in order that some fit expressions might then be introduced to succeed them. He hoped the answer might be couched in terms just and delicate towards the President, without wounding the feelings of any Senator; and he believed both might be done without any difficulty after the two clauses were expunged.

The motion for striking out being put, was negatived.

N O E S.

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|------------------|--------------|
| Messrs. Bingham, | Livermore, |
| Cabot, | Marshall, |
| Ellsworth, | Paine, |
| Foster, | Read, |
| Frelinghuysen, | Ros, |
| King, | Strong, |
| Latimer, | Trumbull—14. |

A Y E S.

| | |
|---------------------|-------------|
| Messrs. Bloodworth, | Martin, |
| Brown, | Mason, |
| Butler, | Robinson, |
| Langdon, | Tazewell—8. |

After a further attempt to amend the address, against which the Senate divided—15 and 7, the address was agreed to—14 to 8.

THE ADDRESS.

To the President of the United States.

SIR,

It is with peculiar satisfaction that we are informed by your Speech to the two Houses of Congress, that the long and expensive war in which we have been engaged with the Indians north-west of the Ohio, is in a situation to be finally terminated ; and though we view with concern the danger of an interruption of the peace so recently confirmed with the Creeks, we indulge the hope, that the measures that you have adopted to prevent the same, if followed by those legislative provisions that justice and humanity equally demand, will succeed in laying the foundation of a lasting peace with the Indian tribes

tribes on the southern as well as on the western frontiers.

The confirmation of our treaty with Morocco, and the adjustment of a treaty of peace with Algiers, in consequence of which our captive fellow-citizens shall be delivered from slavery, are events that will prove no less interesting to the public humanity, than they will be important in extending and securing the navigation and commerce of our country.

As a just and equitable conclusion of our depending negotiations with Spain will essentially advance the interest of both nations, and thereby cherish and confirm the good understanding and friendship which we have at all times desired to maintain, it will afford us real pleasure to receive an early confirmation of our expectations on this subject.

The interesting prospect of our affairs with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted, is not more satisfactory than the review of our internal situation: if from the former we derive an expectation of the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, that have heretofore endangered our tranquillity, and on terms consistent with our national honour and safety, in the latter we discover those numerous and wide-spread tokens of prosperity, which in so peculiar a manner distinguish our happy country.

Circumstances thus every way auspicious demand our gratitude and sincere acknowledgments to Almighty God, and require that we should unite our efforts, in imitation of your enlightened, firm, and persevering example, to establish and preserve the peace, freedom, and prosperity of our country.

The objects which you have recommended to the notice of the Legislature, will in the course of the session receive our careful attention; and with a true zeal for the public welfare, we shall cheerfully co-operate

operate in every measure that shall appear to us best calculated to promote the same.

JOHN ADAMS, Vice-President of the United States, and President of the Senate.

Dec. 12, 1795.

To which the President was pleased to make the following Reply.

GENTLEMEN,

With real pleasure I receive your address, recognising the prosperous situation of our public affairs, and giving assurances of your careful attention to the objects demanding legislative consideration; and that, with a true zeal for the public welfare, you will cheerfully co-operate in every measure which shall appear to you best calculated to promote the same.

But I derive peculiar satisfaction from your concurrence with me in the expressions of gratitude to Almighty God, which a review of the auspicious circumstances that distinguish our happy country has excited; and I trust that the sincerity of our acknowledgments will be evidenced by a union of efforts to establish and preserve its peace, freedom, and prosperity.

G. WASHINGTON.

Debate on the Manner of presenting the Address in Answer to the President's Speech.

WEDNESDAY, 9th December, 1795.

The House of Representatives went into a Committee of the whole House, on the speech of the President, Mr. Muhlenberg in the chair. The Clerk then read the speech.

Mr. VANS MURRAY (*Maryland*) next moved that a Committee should be appointed to draw up a respectful address in answer to the speech. The resolution was in these words:

“ Resolved,

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that a respectful address ought to be presented by the House of Representatives to the President of the United States, in answer to his speech to both Houses of Congress, at the commencement of this session, containing assurances, that this House will take into consideration the various and important matters recommended to their attention.”

Mr. SEDGWICK (*Massachusetts*) seconded the motion.

Mr. PARKER (*Virginia*) offered an amendment, which was seconded by Mr. Macon (*N. C.*).

The substance of this amendment was to strike out all that part of the resolution which goes before the word *assurances*; in place of which Mr. Parker proposed to appoint a Committee, who should personally wait on the President, and assure him of the attention of the House, &c. and concluding as above. Mr. Parker had the highest respect for the President; but he had always disapproved of this practice of making out addresses in answer to these speeches, and of the House leaving their business to go in a body to present them. Last session the framing of this address had cost very long debates, and produced very great irritation. Some of the most disagreeable things that happened during the session, occurred in these debates. He wished unanimity, and the dispatch of business, and so could not consent that any address should be drawn up, as he preferred ending the affair at once by sending a Committee with a verbal answer.

Mr. MURRAY replied, that the practice of drawing up such an address was coeval with the constitution. It was consistent with good sense, and he did not see that any arguments had been employed by the Gentlemen who spoke last against it. It was true that the House might send a verbal answer, and
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it was likewise true that the President might have sent them his speech by his Secretary, without coming near them at all. He had come to Congress, and Mr. Murray could perceive no impropriety in Congress returning the compliment by waiting on him.

The Committee divided on the amendment proposed by Mr. Parker. Eighteen members rose in support of it ; so it was lost. The Committee then agreed to the resolution, as offered by Mr. Murray. They rose, and the Chairman reported progress. The resolution was agreed to by the House. The next question was, of how many members the select Committee should consist, that were to be employed in framing a draft of the address. The different numbers of *five* and *three* were proposed. A division took place on the former motion, when only thirty-one gentlemen rose in its favour. The motion for a Committee of three members to report an address was of course carried. Mr. Madison, Mr. Sedgwick, and Mr. Sitgreaves, were appointed.

REMARKS.—Here was a direct attempt on the part of *Mr. Parker* to set aside a respectful custom, which was coeval with the operation of the Constitution of the United States. One would imagine that this instrument was grown out of favour with the Member from Virginia ; but we shall be less surprised at this, when we come, by and by, to see the instructions of his State to its Senators in Congress.

Debate on the Address in Answer to the Speech.

TUESDAY, 15th December, 1795.

The House went into a Committee on the report of the select Committee of an address in answer to the President's speech.

The following paragraph gave rise to some discussion :

“ Contem-

“Contemplating that *probably unequalled* spectacle of national happiness which our country exhibits in the interesting summary which you, Sir, have been pleased to make, in justice to our own feelings, permit us to add the benefits which are derived from your presiding in our councils, *resulting as well from the UNDIMINISHED confidence of your fellow-citizens, as from your zealous and successful labours in their service.*”

Mr. PARKER (*Virginia*) moved to strike out the words *probably unequalled*; which was carried, 43 against 39.

He then moved to strike out from the word *resulting* to the end of the paragraph.

Mr. MURRAY (who, as the Chairman, was about to put the question on Mr. Parker's motion) said, that he could not, in justice to the opinions of his constituents, &c. of the State of Maryland at large, give a silent vote. He would state to the Committee a recent fact that warranted him in declaring that the President possessed, in the amplest manner, the confidence of the citizens of Maryland. The Legislature of that State, probably foreseeing the efforts of certain persons to diminish the confidence of the public in the Chief Magistrate, had passed a resolution which appears to have been unanimous, by which they declare to the world the most perfect confidence in the President.

This fact, though known certainly to many, might not be known to all present; and as in this solemn testimony of approbation and confidence he totally coincided, he could neither be entirely silent when a question like this implies the contrary sentiment, nor withhold from Gentlemen a great fact so recently displaying the undiminished confidence of the State of Maryland.

Mr. GILES (*Virginia*) hoped that the latter amendment would not take any disagreeable turn.

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He was not prepared to go at length into the propositions. He did not think it inconsistent with all due respect for the President to shorten this clause.

A Member proposed to restrict this amendment to merely striking out the word *undiminished*.

Mr. HARPER (*S. Carolina*) thought the President as wise, as honest, and faithful a public servant as possibly could be. He was not prepared to say that the President was as popular as he formerly has been, but there is no doubt of his being reinstated in the confidence of the public. Mr. Harper was confident that four fifths of us still trust in him. But Mr. Harper thought that objections might be made to the clause as it now stands; and he designed, when the present question had been discussed, to move an amendment.

Mr. PARKER informed the House, that, with much respect for the President, his confidence had *diminished*. He agreed to limit the amendment to striking out the word *undiminished*, in the clause above quoted.

Mr. SEDGWICK (*Massachusetts*) observed, that it had now, in consequence of the motion for striking out the word *undiminished*, become a question of fact, whether our own and our constituents' confidence in the President was, or was not, diminished? To suppose the former, in his opinion, was unsupported by facts; was disgraceful to our constituents, and must, in the end, prove baneful to that system of government which we were attempting to administer.

That, so far as he was acquainted with the actual disposition of the people of that part of the country where alone he could have obtained competent knowledge, he was as certain as he could be of any public sentiments, that confidence in the President, so far from being diminished by the artifices which had been made use of on the contrary, had been increased; and he felt perfectly sure, that at no antecedent pe-

riod had the tide of popular affection set so strongly towards him as at the present moment.

That this part of the address expressed our own and our constituents' undiminished confidence in the President, and an acknowledgment of his zealous and successful labours in the public service. That he had approved of this part of the address, as a member of the select Committee; and on reviewing, since, the subject, he had found no cause to reject the opinion which he had then formed. He did believe, and he loved to believe, because it was honourable to his constituents, that the late efforts which had been made, had, instead of diminishing, increased the public confidence. That a late measure of the Executive had indeed provided a fit occasion for a disclosure of enmities which prudence and policy had heretofore concealed, *but* had not shaken the well-founded reliance of the public on the wisdom and integrity of the President. To suppose an abatement of confidence, in his opinion, was to suppose in the people a want of a due sense of gratitude for the distinguished blessings which they enjoyed; it was to suppose a baseness of disposition unworthy of their former conduct, unworthy of freemen. "Who," he asked, "of a candid mind, and fair and honourable sentiments, can take a review of the glorious conduct of our Chief during the conflict of the revolution; his zealous and successful labours for the public good; his bravery, moderation, and humanity: who can follow him to the place of his happy retirement, and there again behold him covered with glory, attended by the gratitude and affection of his fellow-citizens, and the applauses of the world; who can see him again issuing, at the call of his countrymen, from this retirement, and putting at hazard, for their benefit, the mighty mass of reputation which he had collected, that best reward of virtuous minds; who can review the

the situation of this country for the six years of his administration, the dangers to which we have been exposed, and the happy escapes we have experienced, effected by his prudence, sagacity, and firmness; who can review the conduct of the President in these interesting scenes but with a heart filled with gratitude, affection, and confidence?"

No man, he hoped, in his heart; no man, he believed, would, consistently with a due regard to his own reputation, deny to the President his just claims of merit. No man could, without disgracing his constituents, deny their participation in this sentiment. It only remained then to be inquired, whether these just feelings of their and our hearts ought, under the existing circumstances, to be published to the world. He held this declaration to be, at this moment, an indispensable obligation due from the representatives of the people, from a regard to themselves, their constituents, and the permanent and beneficial existence of the Government which they had chosen.

Although the President had twice been called by the unanimous and unsolicited voice of his countrymen, to preside in their Government; though, to comply with their wishes, he had sacrificed more than any other man could have done; and although the only reward he sought, or would accept, was their approbation, yet licentious and turbulent presses had teemed with scandalous and infamous abuse. What sentiments by these causes might be produced in his mind, whether pity, contempt, or indignation, or a mixture of them all, he could not determine; nor was it necessary to inquire further, to determine whether we should attempt to defeat their effects. In no manner could this be done so effectually as by declaring our own and our constituents' confidence in him.

The President had told the Legislature that it was the favourite wish of his heart to unite with us in our efforts to preserve, prolong, and improve our immense advantages. Did we believe this declaration? Why then should we not unite in counteracting the malignant efforts of sedition, by publishing the sentiment, at once just to him, and honourable to ourselves?

The efforts which had been made to depreciate the character of that first of men and of patriots, instead of producing the nefarious effect, he believed in his conscience had increased, as it ought, the public confidence and regard. Thus feeling and believing, he wished to rescue our country from the imputation of baseness and ingratitude, which otherwise it would appear to merit.

But it was said that an expression of confidence at this time, might be construed into a declaration of approbation of a late measure of the Executive, and preclude the right of examining that measure according to its merit, whenever it should be laid before the Legislature. To this he answered, that, for himself, he had no such intention; and he believed it incapable of such a construction. Confidence did not imply an approbation of every part of the officer's conduct to whom it belonged; it did not exclude the idea of fallibility; but it only implied an approbation of the general tenour of his conduct.

If, when the first officer of our Government was thus attacked, he was left to be overwhelmed by a torrent of abuse, without the countenance and support of his constituents or their representatives; what man, he asked, who had talents to be useful, reputation to lose, or feelings to be wounded, would put all at hazard to serve an ungrateful country? What would such mean and base desertion produce, but to make the first offices of our Government
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posts to which merit would be uncongenial? what but to provide vacancies to be filled by harpies who would prey on the vitals of the Republic?

There was another circumstance which pressed itself on his reflections on this occasion. It was the character—the just character which the President possesses throughout the civilized world. What would it be to reject this part of the address, but to justify those, he hoped unfounded, aspersions which had been made on republican governments? what but to verify those malign predictions which had been pointed at our system?

Thus had he exposed to the Committee, as concisely as he could, his own views of this important subject. He would only add, that, when the President entered first on the execution of the important duties of his office, the man who would have dared to predict that the present question would, at this time, have become a subject of debate, would have been considered as predicting the infamy of his country.

Mr. LIVINGSTON said there were many whose confidence was impaired by a late transaction. He could not therefore consent to the expression in the draft of the address. Mr. Sedgwick had said that consenting to strike out the word *undiminished*, would be telling the world that our confidence actually is diminished; and the Member from Massachusetts adds, that the House are now brought into a distressing dilemma. If there is a distress in the case, it originates with this Member himself, as one of the Committee who brought in this draft of an address. He moved, to prevent any unconciliating debates, that the address might be recommitted. The motion was seconded by Mr. Sedgwick. The Committee rose, and the resolution for recommitting passed.

It was then moved that two members should be added

added to the Committee on drafting the address. Mr. Tracy considered the present number as sufficient. Mr. Freeman and Mr. Baldwin were added.

WEDNESDAY, 16th December, 1795.

The select Committee reported the following address to the President, in answer to his speech to both Houses of Congress, which was unanimously agreed to:

To the President of the United States.

SIR,

As the Representatives of the people of the United States, we cannot but participate with the strongest sensibility of every blessing which they enjoy, and cheerfully join with you in profound gratitude to the Author of all good, for the numerous and extraordinary blessings which he has conferred on our favoured country.

A final and formal termination of the distressing war which has ravaged our north-western frontier, will be an event which must afford a satisfaction proportioned to the anxiety with which it has long been sought; and in the adjustment of the terms, we perceive the true policy of making them satisfactory to the Indians as well as to the United States, as the best basis of a durable tranquillity. The disposition of such of the southern tribes as had also heretofore annoyed our frontier, is another prospect in our situation so important to the interest and happiness of the United States, that it is much to be lamented, that any clouds should be thrown over it, more especially by excesses on the part of our own citizens.

While our population is advancing with a celerity which exceeds the most sanguine calculations—while every part of the United States displays indications of rapid and various improvement—while we
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are in the enjoyment of protection and security, by mild and wholesome laws, administered by governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, a secure foundation will be laid for accelerating, maturing, and establishing the prosperity of our country; if, by treaty and amicable negotiation, all those causes of external discord, which heretofore menaced our tranquillity, shall be extinguished, on terms compatible with our national rights and honour, and with our constitution and great commercial interests.

Among the various circumstances in our internal situation, none can be viewed with more satisfaction and exultation than that the late scene of disorder and insurrection has been completely restored to the enjoyment of order and repose. Such a triumph of reason and of law is worthy of the free Government under which it happened, and was justly to be hoped from the enlightened and patriotic spirit which pervades and actuates the people of the United States.

In contemplating that spectacle of national happiness which our country exhibits, and of which you, Sir, have been pleased to make an interesting summary, permit us to acknowledge and declare the very great share which your zealous and faithful services have contributed to it, and to express the affectionate attachment which we feel for your character.

The several interesting subjects which you recommend to our consideration, will receive every degree of attention which is due to them: and whilst we feel the obligation of temperance and mutual indulgence in all our discussions, we trust and pray, that the result to the happiness and welfare of our country may correspond with the pure affection we bear to it.

THURSDAY, 17th December, 1795.

The Speaker, attended by the House, waited on the President with the address, to which they received the following reply :

GENTLEMEN,

Coming, as you do, from all parts of the United States, I receive great satisfaction from the concurrence of your testimony in the justness of the interesting summary of our national happiness, which, as the result of my inquiries, I presented to your view. The sentiments we have mutually expressed of profound gratitude to the Source of those numerous blessings, the Author of all good, are pledges of our obligations to unite our sincere and zealous endeavours, as the instruments of Divine Providence, to preserve and perpetuate them.

Accept, Gentlemen, my thanks for your declaration, that to my agency you ascribe the enjoyment of a great share of these benefits. So far as my services contribute to the happiness of my country, the acknowledgment thereof, by my fellow-citizens, and their affectionate attachment, will ever prove an abundant reward.

REMARKS.—Thus ended this part of the proceedings in a manner which, perhaps, reflects but little honour on the House of Representatives.

The sentiment contained in the proposed address, expressing an *undiminished* confidence in the President, seemed the most proper that any combination of words could convey ; and particularly on the present occasion. The measures of the Chief Magistrate had been most violently opposed ; he had been all but menaced, in order to deter him from the exercise of powers vested in him by the Constitution ; his motives had been disfigured, and his character
reviled.

reviled. This was to be expected from the leaders of a faction averse to his administration, and even to the Government, and from those among the people whom they had been able to mislead. But, were the declarations of these turbulent demagogues; were the licentious aspersions and abominable falsehoods of that *hired* tribe, to be seconded by the Legislators of the Union? On this address the malcontents had fixed their eyes; from it they expected encouragement or reproof. To be silent was to encourage. The Representatives knew that the feelings of the President had been deeply wounded, and it was their place to administer the healing balm. To this effect, and at once to silence the hydra of faction, nothing was so well calculated as a firm and explicit declaration, that their confidence was *undiminished*.

However, had not the word *undiminished* been introduced into the proposed address, the omission of that epithet would have been of less consequence; but, when once proposed to expunge it by a vote of the House, was to declare to the whole Union, and even to the whole world, that the President had *lost the confidence of his fellow-citizens*; a declaration that, in some countries, precedes a dismissal from office, downfall, and disgrace!

Mr. PARKER, who made the motion for striking out the word *undiminished*, tells us plainly that, "with much *respect* for the President, his *confidence* was *diminished*;" and thus, in this short sentence, advances the most palpable inconsistency that ever fell from the lips of mortal man. His confidence diminishes, while his respect remains undiminished! Unless, indeed, we are to imagine that his respect was in a consumption as well as his confidence. Such a paradoxical avowal might shine in the lunatic reveries of a Rousseau; but is little congenial with the sobriety of a legislative debate.

These observations are far from being inapplicable to the address finally agreed on by the House. On the 16th of December they “acknowledge and declare, that the *zealous* and *faithful services* of the President have had a very great share in contributing to the happiness of the country; and express the “*affectionate attachment* they feel for his character,” when, but the very day before, they had determined that their confidence in him was diminished! If they were persuaded that his zeal and faithful services had so eminently contributed to the happiness of the country, what reason had they to declare that their confidence was diminished? And, if their confidence was diminished, how could his character deserve their affectionate attachment? There is no medium here: confidence in a public man is like virtue in a woman; as long as it exists at all it must be unimpaired. It is entire, or it is no more.

There is no telling what may be the effect of these proceedings; but certain it is, it will not be the fault of Mr. Parker and those who sided with him on this occasion, if General Washington, or any other man who has a reputation to lose, should again be seen at the head of Government*. The three branches should be checks on each other, it is true; but if they are not also mutual supports, the whole fabric will soon crumble to the ground; and the degree of popular strength, whatever that may be, acquired by the representative branch through the present decision, must inevitably tend to enfeeble the other two.

* This grudging vote was one of the causes which induced Washington to *retire* in the spring of 1797. He never before had experienced any thing like disapprobation. He now saw that his power to command universal applause was gone, never to return; and he accordingly resolved to quit his station.

*Debate on the Attempt at Corruption, by Randall
and Whitney.*

MONDAY, December 28th, 1795.

Mr. SMITH (S. C.) requested the attention of the House for a moment, to a subject of a very delicate nature. He understood that a memorial was this morning to be presented from some individuals, applying for a grant of a large tract of the Western Territory : and as the House had referred all such applicants to the Committee for bringing in the Land Office Bill, of which he was Chairman ; and as it was probable that the memorial about to be presented would be disposed of in the same manner, he conceived it a duty incumbent on him to disclose to the House, at this time, some circumstances which had come to his knowledge. Mr. Smith then said, that on Tuesday evening last, a person of the name of Randall called on him, requesting an hour of confidential conversation. In the interview which took place, Randall made a communication to the following effect. He intended to present a memorial on the Monday following to Congress for a grant of all the Western lands lying between lakes Michigan, Erie, and Huron, to the amount of about twenty millions of acres. He and his associates, some of whom were Canada merchants, who had great influence over the Indians, proposed to form a company, and to undertake the extinction of the Indian title, provided Congress would cede to them the fee simple of the land. The property would be divided into forty shares, twenty-four of which should be reserved for such members of Congress as might favour the scheme, and might be inclined to come into it, after the adjournment of Congress, on the same terms as the original associators. Randall himself had the disposal of twelve shares, for

for members from the Southern States; and colleagues of his, a like number of those of the Eastern States. A certain number of shares were to be the property of those Canada merchants, who had an unbounded influence over the Indians occupying those lands, and who would, if this plan succeeded, pacify those Indians who were the most hostile to the United States: that General Wayne's treaty was a mere delusion, and that without the co-operation of those influential persons the United States would never have peace in that quarter. Mr. Smith said, that he had communicated this overture the next morning to Mr. Murray, one of the members from Maryland, requesting his advice how to proceed on so delicate an occasion; that Mr. Murray recommended a disclosure to Mr. Henry of the Senate, and that, on a consultation with those gentlemen, it was resolved that it was Mr. Smith's duty to make an immediate communication of the matter to the President, which was accordingly done.

Mr. MURRAY rose next. He had received an application of the same nature; but having already heard of the proposal, "I was," said Mr. Murray, "in a state of preparation, and my virtue had not such a shock to encounter as that of the Gentleman last up."

Mr. Murray corroborated what Mr. Smith had said as to the communication of this affair to himself. He advised Mr. Smith to give Randall another meeting, for the purpose of developing his scheme and expectations more fully.

Mr. MURRAY said that Mr. Smith informed him on Wednesday morning: next day, in the morning, he informed Mr. Henry of the Senate. Mr. Smith, on that day, informed the President. On that day (Thursday) Mr. Randall was introduced to him, and asked an interview at his lodging; he gave him an appointment

appointment at five in the afternoon. Mr. Henry and he were together when Randall came in. Randall talked about the policy of extinguishing the Indian title to the peninsula formed by lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, containing about eighteen or twenty millions of acres of very good land; and talked in terms that he might have employed from a pulpit. He did not make any corrupt overtures till Mr. Murray had carried him into his own apartment. There Randall opened his proposals, as had been before mentioned by Mr. Smith, observing, that if Congress would sell this land to him and his company, they intended to divide it into forty or forty-one shares. Twenty-four shares were to be appropriated to such members of Congress as chose to support the memorial, which would be presented on Monday. The members were to have their shares on the same terms on which his company should obtain the land. The company would give five hundred thousand, or perhaps, a million of dollars; but on Mr. Murray's apparent acquiescence in his views, he said that the shares would be given to the members who advocated the measure, if they pleased to accept them, after they returned to their homes. Mr. Murray started a difficulty about the embarrassment of land speculations, for which he personally had no genius; and then Randall instantly turned out the cat, and told him, that if *he* did not choose the share of land, he should have cash in hand for his share. Mr. Smith and Mr. Murray had resolved to disclose this to the House, lest some innocent member might offer a memorial, and become liable to suspicion. Randall had hinted that larger proportions would be assigned to the more active members, and lesser ones for *the small fish*.

The Speaker then rose, and expressed a wish that some Gentleman would move for an order to apprehend

hend Randall. Upon this, Mr. Smith again rose, and said, that a warrant to this effect had yesterday been issued by the President, and to support which, Mr. Smith had made oath before a magistrate to the particulars above mentioned. He hoped that by this time the person was taken.

Mr. GILES rose next, and observed that an application from the same Mr. Randall had been made to himself. Besides a repetition of some particulars already stated, he told Mr. GILES that he had already secured thirty or forty members of this House, but he wanted to secure three other members, if Mr. Giles recollected right. He added, that he had already secured a majority in the Senate. When this proposal was first made, which he thought was about ten days ago, a member from New-York (Mr. Livingston) was present. Randall had even gone so far as to say, that a written agreement was drawn out, and subscribed by a number of eastern members, and he wished Mr. Giles to extend another obligation of the same kind for the southern members; the purport of which paper was understood to be, that the members who voted in support of the disposal of the lands, were to be secured in a stipulated share of them, without having their names mentioned in the deed. Mr. Giles was solicitous to learn the names of the members who had *already* entered into the negotiation; but Randall assured him, that, from motives of delicacy, he durst not communicate any of the names. Mr. Giles then desired a sight of the agreement, that he might be able to comprehend its meaning, before he should attempt to draw any similar paper. The man called a second time, and, as Mr. Giles conceived, about four days ago, but never could produce either the deed, or any draught of it. Mr. Giles had already communicated the proposal to several members, and, in particular, to the Speaker.

The Speaker (Mr. Dayton) mentioned, that Mr. Giles had, some time ago, informed him of the proposal. He replied, that, if an opportunity offered, *he would take care to select a Committee consisting of members sure to detect the guilty*, if any such could exist; adding, that he expected the House to believe that he would not have used such words, but on so extraordinary an occasion.

Mr. CHRISTIE said, that he was the person who introduced Randall to Mr. Smith and Mr. Murray. He had long known him as a respectable man. He had mentioned to Mr. Christie, in general, that it was a landed speculation; and hinted that he, Mr. Christie, might accept of a share. In reply, that Gentleman assured him that he could not possibly have a concern in any such transaction. Randall had not, to Mr. Christie, insinuated that any undue advantages would accrue to members supporting the intended purchase.

Mr. BUCK, a member from Vermont, mentioned that a person of the name of Whitney, who appears to have been an associate of Randall, had called upon him in the country, with a proposal of this kind.

REMARKS.—I never was more surprised in my life, than when I heard Mr. Dayton, the Speaker, avow, that he had told Mr. Giles he would *take care to select such a Committee* as should detect the guilty, if any such could exist.

This sentence from the Speaker discovers to us, that he had but an indifferent opinion of the integrity of some of the members of the House: for, had not this been the case, he would not have fallen on a plan of *detecting the guilty*. The *qualifying phrase*, “if any such could exist,” does by no means do away the existence of suspicion in his mind; for, if no suspicion existed, why should he talk of *taking care to select a Committee* for the purpose of detection?

tection? This last expression has also something of a party nature in it. Mr. Dayton should have presumed that *every member* in the House would be anxious to detect guilt: to say that he would take care *to select* such a Committee as would do this, was not only to presume that there were some members who would *not do it*, but it was to hint, at the same time, that he knew, or at least guessed, *who those members were*. This conclusion is inevitable; for it would have been an absurdity which so sensible a man as the Speaker could not have fallen into, to propose to himself the selecting of such a Committee as would be *sure* to detect the guilty, if he had had an equal confidence in all the members of the House, or if he had not some particular members in his eye, whom he looked upon as men of more integrity than some others. I know not how the House felt on this occasion; but had I been a member, I freely declare, that I should have felt my honour much more deeply wounded by this suggestion of the Speaker, than by any thing that possibly could be advanced, or even proved, by the land-jobbers themselves. If he had incautiously let fall such expressions to Mr. Giles, there was certainly no kind of necessity for repeating them in public, unless called upon to that effect. This is by no means the least exceptionable circumstance, as the unasked-for repetition of the suggestion seems to have been merely a lure for popularity; a trick always beneath an independent member of Congress, and more especially so, when that popularity is to be obtained at the expense of his colleagues.

TUESDAY, December 29th.

Mr. BLOUNT brought forward a resolution in nearly the following words: "Resolved, that it be made a charge against Robert Randall, that he declared to a Member of this House, that a num-
"ber,

“ber, consisting of not less than thirty members of
 “this House, had engaged to support his memo-
 “rial.”

Mr. MURRAY called upon Gentlemen, by their *sensibility to personal dignity*, and the character of the House, to arrest the motion. Its tendency certainly was to *place the honour of the House*, or a very great part of it, *in the power of a man, of whose known profligacy of principles there could now be no doubt*. Will you, he observed, permit, nay invite, him whom you arraign at the bar of this House, to be a *public accuser*? Will you adopt a charge against him, which is in its nature an imputation, that, however lightly and wickedly made, will implicate perhaps innocent men? These men, to rescue their own reputations, will be obliged to risk their characters, on the weight of their veracity, by denying this man's charge in the face of a world but too prone to suspect.—By this motion Randall's assertion to the Gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Giles), the only member who has mentioned it, is to be alleged against Randall as an offence. That Randall said to the Gentleman that there were thirty or forty members *secured*, he had no doubt—but he believed the fact to be, that Randall was both deceived himself, and attempted to deceive the Gentleman—“Why,” said Mr. Murray, “the fellow told me that there were thirty members *secured*.”—Mr. Murray had not thought proper to state that circumstance, because he did not so much consider it as a fact material to the detection of Randall's guilt, as it was one, which, if mentioned, might possibly afford to malice an opportunity of affixing a stigma to any thirty or forty names at which personal enmity might point. No public good could result from such a disclosure—for the assertion of such a man as Randall could not, among men of honour, be deemed a sufficient ground of suspicion; and yet the malice of the world, or the rancour of personal ene-

mies, might attach suspicion and dishonour to almost the whole House, from the indefiniteness of the charge. When Randall informed him on Thursday night that there were thirty members who would support his measures, he had felt in the very conduct which he was then himself pursuing to detect Randall, to arrest his scheme, a principle of candour towards others, which taught him that other gentlemen, to whom Randall had communicated his scheme *confidentially*, were probably determined, as honestly as himself, to crush the infamous plot against the honour of the House. He knew that he who would be wicked enough to attempt seduction, might be weak enough to use this intelligence artfully, for the purpose of leading him the more readily to accept terms of infamy; because the object was painted as easily attainable; and that Randall might wish to diminish all qualms, by exhibiting a pretended group of accomplices, whose company would, at least, diminish the appearance of singularity. I entertained, said Mr. Murray, no suspicion of any man—I knew Randall to be a corrupt man, from his offers to myself—I therefore placed all his intelligence to the score of flimsy art. I knew that such a man was not to be fully believed where his interest was to magnify his success—I drew favourable auspices with respect to the corps to which I belong, from another piece of intelligence of his, which was, that he communicated to some members, one of whom he had named, and whom I knew to be a man of honour, in what he called the *general* way.—This general way was a display of the sounder part of his scheme merely, and not the corrupt: consisting in developing the advantages which would result to the Union in the disposal of their lands, provided the harmony of the Indians could be secured. In this view of his plan he gave the subject an attitude far from unimposing; and I conceived, that as, in proportion

portion to the numbers engaged confidentially, he must know that the hazard of detection increased, he would not communicate the corrupt view as long as he found the more honest part of the policy might appear to strike any gentleman as a measure useful to his country—I therefore *did not believe* Randall in the sense he evidently intended. Therefore, Sir, I did not feel myself at liberty to mention the assertion, which I conceived to be unavailing as a circumstance necessary to the example I wished to make, but which, if communicated, I thought might cast a stain, by the mystery that enveloped it, upon a body whose character ought to be held sacred to the confidence of the country. My duty was to bring Randall's attempt to corrupt unequivocally into light; not by repeating all the arts which he used in order to corrupt; not by exhibiting them in a way that might wound the feelings of men of honour, who, if charged even personally by Randall, would have no refuge from odium, but in their characters and counter-assertion. This, though always conclusive with those who personally know them, is not a protection to minds of sensibility against the stings of calumny. The voice of fame is not composed from the voice of men of honour.

It was, he said, in the spirit of such reflections, that he and the Gentleman with whom he had concerted the mode and time of disclosure (Mr. W. Smith) had determined to trust rather to the as yet unstained honour of the House, than to the loose declarations of Randall, and therefore had resolved on Friday morning to make the disclosure before some Gentleman, innocent of the corrupt scheme, and acquainted with the sounder part of the plan only, might have cause to blush at having presented a memorial which it would be their duty to defeat and cover with infamy. If this charge is exhibited

against Randall, he will confess or deny it; if he confesses it, and, in the disposition that often accompanies detected guilt, should name particular gentlemen, though their counter-assertion would completely, in his own mind, outweigh the charge of a corrupt and profligate accuser, like Randall, yet would every man of delicacy have cause to regret, that, merely for the purpose of adding to the charges against a man proved to be wicked, a stain had glanced from him upon a name innocent and honourable. Let gentlemen act with magnanimity upon this occasion—Let them resist a motion, which, however purely conceived, may eventually wound honest fame, without detecting guilt. Mr. Murray solemnly believed, that Randall's assertion was either false totally, or true only as it respected those who had listened to him for the purpose of making an example—or those to whom he had spoken in what he had called the *general* way. If Randall denied this charge, it would rest on the assertion of the Gentleman from Virginia, but could not affect members farther, than as the measure of inquiry seemed to imply suspicion. He and the Gentleman from South Carolina had both acted upon the presumption of innocence in members, and they had resolved on the timely disclosure yesterday, lest even one member, however innocent, might be placed in a painful situation by presenting the memorial. If Randall is charged with this as an offence, he verily believed the House betrayed its own honour to the malice of the world. He would therefore vote decidedly against it.

Mr. Murray, in the course of his speech, added several other observations. He did not doubt that in every district of the continent, thirty *favourites* would be pointed out, whom the people in that quarter,

quarter, or at least some among them, would be disposed to consign to infamy; and perhaps there was not one district in the Union where the same thirty members would be named. It would be said, "Sir, they are not named, but *I know who are the men.*" So rapid were the communications of the press, so keen the appetite for scandal, that, when once the story was circulated, it might be impossible ever to get rid of it.

Mr. GILES replied: He was in favour of the motion of Mr. Blount. He said it was evident from the way in which this whole communication had been brought forward, that there had been no previous correspondence between Mr. Murray and himself. They had felt differently. Mr. Giles had informed the Speaker of the House. Mr. Murray and his friend (Mr. W. Smith) had communicated the affair to the President; a measure of which, as it struck Mr. Giles, he did not distinctly perceive the propriety. Mr. Giles had considered it as best to wait in silence till the petition of Randall should come forward. Mr. Murray had suggested a variety of delicate motives for breaking the matter to the House, lest the petition should come forward and hurt the feelings of an innocent and unsuspecting Member. Mr. Giles did not wish to diminish the credit fully due to the Gentleman in this respect. He himself had felt somewhat differently. He had acted differently.

Mr. HILLHOUSE was convinced that there was not a Gentleman in the House whose character rested on so slender a foundation as to be affected by any thing this man could say. He felt no anxiety for the reputation of the House, for he knew that it was not in the smallest danger. The resolution went merely to make Randall confess that he had said so and so. It implied nothing tending to affect

members. A man covered with infamy making such charges could not expect credit, or obtain it from any body. Mr. Hillhouse was, for these reasons, in favour of the resolution for interrogating Randall.

The resolution passed in the affirmative.

WEDNESDAY, 30th December, 1795.

RANDALL and WHITNEY being in custody, a debate took place with respect to allowing them counsel at the bar of the House, which was also determined in the affirmative. On this occasion *Mr. Christie* observed, that he had known Randall for many years, and had never heard of any thing against him before. He had lately been at Detroit, and *Mr. Christie* believed that he had been injured by keeping bad company. He was not the first man in the country who had been corrupted by British influence and British company. He moved that Randall should be allowed until to-morrow at twelve o'clock. This was negatived.

REMARKS.—It appeared to me particularly cruel to negative this motion of *Mr. Christie's*, seeing that poor Randall, whom *Mr. Christie* had known for so many years, had been injured by keeping bad company. But, as to *British influence*, I could not for my life perceive with what propriety it was brought in here. It seemed rather a wanton attack on the character of a nation, whose influence in the line of corruption has not been made apparent in this country; and I may add, it was a wanton attack on the people of this country too, to say that Randall “was not the first man in it who had been corrupted by British influence.” *Mr. Christie* seems, indeed, to have fallen into the cant of the opposers of the treaty; for we know that they attributed its conclusion and ratification to the influence of British gold. We have

have seen the firm, candid, and upright man, who negotiated that treaty, and the senators who advised its ratification, burnt in an effigy, representing them as receiving the gold of Great Britain; we have been long scandalized at these scenes, and at the atrocious falsehood of the opinion they were intended to propagate; one would have hoped therefore, that no Member of Congress would have sanctioned, in any manner, however indirect, proceedings from which every well-informed and honest man turns with indignation.

As to the innocence of the land-jobbers, it would be wrong to say any thing positive about it after the decision of the House; but it was not to be wondered at if *men of that profession* should imagine it possible to bribe the members of Congress after what they had heard of other people in the Government. After having heard of the “precious confessions” and “overtures” of Mr. Randolph, on behalf of himself and others, one would not have been surprised if they had attempted to bribe the President himself. They found, however, *other sort of men to deal with* *.

On the Reception of the French Flag.

TUESDAY, January 5th, 1796.

I was rather late in my attendance in Congress this day; a circumstance the more distressing, as I found not only the gallery, but even the passage also, full of spectators. I, at last, made shift to reach my post; but not without an infinite deal of difficulty; for the citizens I had to deal with, being in general brimful of the doctrine of equality, pay but very little respect to old age.

* Men of a higher price!

Every person within the walls of this House seemed to be waiting for the developement of some great and important mystery. The members were paired off, laying their heads together, whispering and listening with great eagerness; while the Speaker, seated with his chin supported between his right finger and thumb, and his eyes rivetted to the floor, appeared lost, buried alive, as it were, in profundity of thought. Never did wisdom appear more lovely in my eyes. "Two such statues," said I to myself, "would have become the shrine of *Minerva* much better than the blinking twilight mousers, "that her votaries formerly placed on it."

This seriousness of the members of the House naturally produced the most anxious expectation in the minds of the good citizens in my quarter. A thousand ridiculous inquiries were made in the twinkling of an eye, which were answered by a thousand still more ridiculous conjectures. One said that a law was going to be read to oblige the Virginians to free their slaves and pay their just debts; but another swore that was impossible. A third declared a second embargo was to be laid; and a fourth observed that it was to hinder the cruel English from carrying off our poor horses, to eat them in the West Indies. In short, were I to repeat all that I heard, I should never have done; for, of two hundred of us, no two individuals were of the same opinion. One thing, however, we all agreed in, an impatience that I should in vain endeavour to describe, but of which the half-successful lover, who has waited for an answer to a supplicating billet-doux, may have some faint idea.

To tell the reader the truth of my opinion, I was afraid that some new confiscating or sequestrating project was on foot; and when Mr. Dayton, the Speaker, awoke from his reverie, and began to speak, "Lord have mercy," said I, "upon the poor
"British

"British creditors." My fears on this account were soon dissipated. The Speaker told us that this message was of the most "*solemn*" and "*serious*" nature, and he therefore requested both the members of the House and the strangers in the gallery to observe the profoundest silence.

The reader will easily imagine, that a warning like this increased the torture of suspense. It was now that we felt the value of the hearing faculty. I observed my neighbours brushing aside their matted and untutored locks, that nothing might impede the entrance of the glad tidings. We were, as the poet says, "all eye, all ear." But there was a little man down below, whose anxiety seemed to surpass that of all the rest. He crept to within a very few paces of the leeward side of the chair, and, turning himself sideways, lifted up the left corner of his wig, placing the auricular orifice open and extended, in a direct line with the Speaker's mouth, so that not a single breath of the precious sounds could possibly escape him. His longing countenance seemed to say, in the language of his countryman Macbeth:—"Speak! speak! had I three ears, by Heaven I'd hear thee."

The attitude of this subaltern quidnunc had like to have shaken the inflexibility of my muscles; I made a shift, however, to mould them up into a gravity adapted to the awfulness of the scene that was preparing for my view. All at once, as if by the power of magic, the doors flew open, "grating on their hinges harsh thunder," and the President's Secretary was introduced with an American officer bearing a flag, which I took to be a representation of the day of judgment. It had a *thunderbolt* in the centre, with a *cock* perched upon it; the emblems of Almighty vengeance and of watchfulness. At two of the corners the *globe* was represented in a flame. The staff was covered with black velvet, sad colour
of

of death, and crowned with a Parisian pike, fatal instrument, on which the bleeding and ghastly heads, nay, even the palpitating hearts of men, women, and children, have so often been presented to the view of the polite and humane inhabitants of that capital.

Curiosity now gave way to another passion, that of fear. For my part, I am not ashamed to confess, that I never was in such trepidation since I first saw the light of day. Nor were my companions in a more enviable state. I looked round, and beheld the affrighted group huddled up together, like a brood of chickens waiting the mortal grip of the voracious kite. In this general picture of consternation one object attracted particular notice. It was a democrat, who was so fully persuaded that the flag was the harbinger of fate, that he began to anticipate the torments of the world to come. Never did I before behold such dreadful symptoms of a guilty conscience. He was as white as paper, his knees knocked together, his teeth chattered, he wrung his hands and rolled his eyes, but durst not lift them towards heaven. His voice was like the yell of the inhabitants of the infernal regions. "Oh! Franklin Bache! Franklin Bache! Oh! that infernal atheistical Calendar!" This was all we could get from him; but this was enough to assure me, that he was one of those unhappy wretches, who had been led astray by the profligate correspondents of Mr. Bache, and by the atheistical decader Calendar, which that gentleman has, with so much unholy zeal, endeavoured to introduce amongst us, in place of the Christian one, we, as yet, make use of.

My attention was called off from this terrific picture of despair by a voice from beneath. A tall spare man, dressed all in black from head to foot, who seemed to be "*A Calm Observer*," was beginning, in a hollow voice, to read (as I expected) the de-

crees of fate, but to my agreeable surprize I found it was a decree of the National Convention : it was in the following words:

*To the Representatives of the United States of America
in Congress assembled.*

Citizens Representatives,

The connexions which nature, reciprocal events, and a happy concurrence of circumstances, have formed between two free nations, cannot but be indissoluble. You have strengthened those sacred ties by the declarations which the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States has made in your name to the National Convention, and to the French people. They have been received with rapture by a nation, who know how to appreciate every testimony which the United States have given to them of their affection. The colours of both nations, united in the centre of the National Convention, will be an everlasting evidence of the part which the United States have taken in the success of the French Republic.

You were the first defenders of the rights of man, in another hemisphere. Strengthened by your example, and endowed with an invincible energy, the French people have vanquished that tyranny, which during so many centuries of ignorance, superstition, and baseness, had enchained a generous nation.

Soon did the people of the United States perceive, that every victory of ours strengthened their independence and happiness. They were deeply affected at our momentary misfortunes, occasioned by treasens purchased by English gold. They have celebrated with rapture the successes of our brave armies.

None of these sympathetic emotions have escaped the sensibility of the French nation. They have all served to cement the most intimate and solid union that has ever existed between two nations.

The

The Citizen Adet, who will reside near your Government in quality of Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, is specially instructed to tighten the bands of fraternity and mutual benevolence. We hope that he may fulfil this principal object of his mission, by a conduct worthy of the confidence of both nations, and of the reputation which his patriotism and virtues have acquired him.

An analogy of political principles; the natural relations of commerce and industry; the efforts and immense sacrifices of both nations in defence of liberty and equality; the blood which they have spilled together; their avowed hatred for despots; the moderation of their political views; the disinterestedness of their councils; and especially the success of the vows which they have made in presence of the Supreme Being, to be free or die, all combine to render indestructible the connexions which they have formed.

Doubt it not, Citizens; we shall finally destroy the combination of tyrants; you, by the picture of prosperity, which in your vast countries has succeeded to a bloody struggle of eight years; we, by the enthusiasm which glows in the breast of every Frenchman. Astonished nations, too long the dupes of perfidious kings, nobles, and priests, will eventually recover their rights, and the human race will owe to the American and French nations their regeneration and lasting peace.

PARIS, 30th Vendemiaire, 3d year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The Members of the Committee of Public Safety,

J. S. B. DELMAS,

MERLIN [of Douai], &c.

“This *Merlin*,” says Doctor Moore, in his Journal, “is not thought to be quite so great a conjurer as his namesake of old.” The opinion here related

lated by the Doctor seems to be pretty well confirmed by the dispatch before us; and I think we may add, that the rest of the Committee of Public Safety, who participated in drawing it up, were no greater conjurers than their colleague.

Passing by the general style of this Anglo-Gallican epistle, let us examine a passage or two of its contents.

“The connexions which *nature, reciprocal events,* and a happy concurrence of circumstances, have formed between two free nations, cannot but be *indissoluble.*”

By this we are to understand, that, in our *nature*, and in the *events of our revolution*, we resemble the French. In the first place, what has nature given us in common with them? Are we descended from the same race? Is the resemblance to be found in our persons, in our language, or in our dispositions? Did ever any body hear an American (except he was a frenchified democrat) running on with an eternal bombastical babble about nothing? Do we sing, dance, and cut throats, all in the same instant? Place one of our plain, sober, sensible young men by the side of a profligate prig of the revolution, and see if you can find any two animals of God's creation between which there is so little likeness. What, then, has nature done *to draw us together*, as they call it? It appears to me that she has acted in a sense directly opposite. Like a tender and-solicitous mother, seeing her favourite children forming connexions contrary to her laws, she has exerted all her efforts to *draw* them from their ruin. May we listen to her voice! and not suffer ourselves to be sucked into the rattlesnake embraces of those anarchists, whom she says “avoid, as you would avoid my curse!”

As the nature of a people is a thing entirely independent of their own agency, I see no great reason that we have to be offended at the Convention for
aspiring

aspiring to resemble us in natural dispositions and affection ; but, with respect to *the events of our two revolutions*, the work of our own hands, to tell us that we are connected by a similarity here, is what we may, and ought to be offended at, and highly too. Did we begin our revolution by murder ? Was our declaration of independence, like their declaration of rights, promulgated amidst the cries of the dying ? Or did the heralds stand to read it under the dripping head of some innocent victim ? Was our Congress ever divided into impious factions, striving to outvie each other in cruelty and blasphemy ? Did they decree the word of God to be a lie, and write over our burial-places : “ This is the place of *eternal sleep* ? ” Did we ever see the guillotine permanent in our market-places ; children bound beneath it, while the blood of their parents flowed on the scaffold ; our gutters running with the streams of life ? Did we cut off the heads of our fathers and mothers, drag our children to death ? And did these Representatives of the French people ever hear that our Congress applauded such hellish acts ? Did they ever hear, that we roasted people alive, and cut off their flesh to eat ; that we stripped poor innocent defenceless women, and shot them by hundreds, with infants in their arms ? Did they ever hear of men, born in America, or in any other country except France, savage enough to tear out the heart of a human being and bite it with their teeth ; rip open women with child, and stick the quivering embryo on the point of their bayonets ? Is there any American base enough to say that we were guilty of these things ? And if we never were, in the name of all that’s impudent, how durst they thus insult us by comparing the events of our revolution to those of their own ?—Never, till I heard this dispatch read, did I wish for a seat among the Legislators of the Union. Had I been on that floor, this hectoring
epistle

epistle should never have gone into the world, without being accompanied with a proof, that one American at least felt as he ought to do the indignity offered to the character of his nation *.

But let us proceed to another passage.—“ Soon did the people of the United States perceive that every victory of ours strengthened their independence and happiness. They were deeply affected at our momentary misfortunes, occasioned by treasons purchased by English gold. They have celebrated with rapture the successes of our brave armies.”

Now, let me ask who are those people of the United States, that “ *soon perceived*” that what Master Merlin pleases to call victories *strengthened* their *independence* and *happiness*? For my part, I was so far from perceiving this *soon*, that I have never perceived it at all; no, nor even imagined either. It would be but a poor pitiful independence, I am afraid, were it dependant on their victories. Their victories, if we ought to call victories what has been purchased by the ruin of an empire, have been in a quarter where we have neither territory nor commercial connexions. What is their overrunning the Low Countries to us? What safety can we possibly derive from their success in Savoy, or their *late victory on the Rhine*? Had they sallied out, indeed, and destroyed the great *Leviathan*, and established for ever the liberty of the seas, as they faithfully promised us they would, I should have listened to them; but, alas! the sea-monster still rolls about,

* Lest the reader should imagine that the horrid deeds glanced at in this paragraph are advanced at random, I refer him to the *Bloody Buoy*. In this work the affrighted reader will see clear convincing *proofs* of such consummate villany, such refinement in barbarity, as never before entered into the heart of the most savage butcher of the human species.

sweeping them from the face of the waters, whenever he meets with them. This is fine strengthening of our independence!

Besides, there is something in the very idea of an independence that stands in need of the strength of another nation, which, to me, appears ridiculous. Independence ought to imply capacity to *stand alone*. If, then, we have this capacity, what need have we of French aid? And, if we have it not, we do wrong to talk about independence at all; for, a *dependant independence* is the most unenviable state into which a poor helpless nation ever fell.—It is easy to discover why they are continually plying us with this old threadbare tale; but it is not so easy to discover how it happens that so many among us are still their dupes.

We now come to the “English gold.” They tell us, that the people of this country “were deeply affected at their momentary misfortunes, occasioned by treasons purchased by English gold.”—This is an excellent way of accounting for misfortunes. When the French gain a victory, it is by their valour, but when they are beaten, it is by the gold of their enemies. There is one circumstance here, which, it would seem, our dear friend Merlin overlooked; and that is, where there are treasons there must be traitors, and where there is corruption there must be receivers as well as givers. This being the case, it naturally follows, that this English gold has been received by corrupt French traitors. Whether this does them honour or not, or whether it be a circumstance that ought to excite our confidence in their nation, I leave the reader to determine.

But how does this apply to ourselves?—What have we to do with their money matters?—Ah! perhaps the reader does not see why this English gold was slipped into the flag epistle. It was not
without

without a motive, I can assure him. The writers knew that their epistle would be published in this country, and they looked upon it as a fine opportunity to hint at English corruption, when the treaty was about to arrive among us*. They knew also that they had made abundant use of gold themselves; and we have ever seen that it is the practice of the world to cry out on others, while the sin lies at their own door.

We have heard much talk about English gold, or, as it is commonly called, the "gold of Pitt;" but I would venture my life, that there is not a single person in the United States, who believes that it has been employed among us. A proof, an infallible proof, that it has not, we hear it exclaimed against. Gold has a different effect: it ever makes converts: it opens the mouth of the boisterous demagogue against every body else but the donor. Had Mr. Pitt known "the pretended patriots of America," as well as Citizen Fauchet did; had he known that their consciences were going off dog-cheap, he might have employed a few thousand guineas to good purpose. He might have bought up all the *Democratic Societies* in the country at the reasonable rate of twenty pounds *per club*. These remarks may possibly reach Mr. Pitt; if they should, I hereby engage, if he will send me a bank bill of ten thousand pounds, to turn the hearts of all this horde of patriots in the course of one month from the date of my receipt. I will not only silence their execrations against him, but will turn their cerberian howlings into songs of praise. Instead of the bloody *Ca ira* and the brutal *Carmagnole*, I will make them bawl out, "Britannia rule the Waves;" nay, even "God save great George our King."

* This epistle was written in October, 1794; and consequently they expected it would arrive here before Mr. Jay.

And all this I undertake to do for the reasonable commission of twenty-five *per cent.* The reader may, perhaps, look upon this as presumption in me; but when he recollects that I have to do with Democratic Societies; when he recollects that Citizen Fauchet could have "determined on *civil war* " or on *peace*," with the aid of only "a few thousand of dollars," he will be ready to allow, that I could perform what I here promise with ten thousand good pounds sterling.

In the next sentence of the passage above quoted, Merlin tells us, that the people of America "celebrated with rapture the successes of the brave French armies."—Aye, aye, and of *the brave French fleets* too. I wish Master Merlin had spoken as little truth here as he has done in the rest of his epistle. For my part, I have ever been ashamed of these celebrations of the French successes: they appeared to me to be indications of a spirit of partiality, very unbecoming in a people who were continually putting in their claims to the rights and privileges of *neutrality*. But let us do justice here. Who were these civic feasters?—"The people of America," says Merlin; but Merlin is a little mistaken here. They were composed of the drunken rabble of some great towns, headed by those who were very probably in the pay of the Convention. I am aware that I shall be told here, that the cannons of the State of Pennsylvania were fired at these feasts, that the Governor assisted in person, and that *honourable* mention is made of him, in the *procès-verbal* (or minutes of the proceedings) sent to the French Government; but this will not make me retract what I have said about *drunken rabble*, nor about those who were very probably in the pay of the Convention; on the contrary, I produce this circumstance as a proof of these my assertions.

I

I shall

I shall take particular notice of but one passage more of this loving legislative epistle.—“An analogy of political principles; the natural relations of commerce and industry; the efforts and immense sacrifices of both nations, in the defence of liberty and equality; the blood which they have spilled together; their avowed hatred for despots; the moderation of their political views; the disinterestedness of their councils; and especially the success of *the vows which they have made in the presence of the Supreme Being*, to be free, or die,—all combine to render indestructible the connexions which they have formed.”

And do they tell us, that our vows to the Supreme Being resemble theirs? And have they the assurance to talk to us about the Supreme Being, after the publication of their decrees? Do we not know, that one of this very Convention who writes to us thus, mounted the tribune of the Assembly, and called on them to “throw down the altars of God?” And do we not know, that the Convention, in consequence of this impious motion, decreed, that the French people acknowledged no other god, or rather goddess, but *Reason*? They not only instituted and celebrated a festival to this new-fangled deity, but a *strumpet* was accoutred in the habiliments of *Reason*, seated on a throne of turf, surrounded with the insignia of what she was said to represent, and in this guise received the adorations of the Convention, as well as of the people of Paris. Can we have forgotten these things? Can we have forgotten the decree that orders all religious books to be burnt, and can we have forgotten that this was really done? Who were the men, then, that did all this? The very Convention, that now talks to us about the Supreme Being.—But we are told that they have now abjured their errors; that they have now decreed that *there is a God*.—Decreed that there

is a God! What blasphemy! As if it were as easy to overturn the throne of Heaven, as that of their own country! Is there any Christian, is there any man, that can hear language like this without shuddering? Are these our principles?—No: we imitate them in nothing. And I hope in God we never shall.

I must now insert the letter of the French Minister and that of the President, which were communicated to the House immediately after the dispatch I have just been remarking on. But, first of all, it will be necessary to give the letter of the President, by which the business was opened to the Congress.

*Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the
House of Representatives,*

A letter from the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, received on the 22d of last month, covered an address dated the 21st of October, 1794, from the Committee of Public Safety, to the Representatives of the United States in Congress; and also informed me that he was instructed by the Committee to present to the United States the colours of France. I therefore proposed to receive them last Friday, the first day of the new year, a day of general joy and congratulation. On that day the Minister of the French Republic delivered the colours, with an address, to which I returned an answer. By the latter the House will see that I have informed the Minister, that the colours will be deposited with the archives of the United States. But it seemed to me proper previously to exhibit to the two Houses of Congress these evidences of the continued friendship of the French Republic, together with the sentiments expressed by me on the occasion in behalf of the United States. They are herewith communicated.

G. WASHINGTON.

French

French Minister's Letter.

MR. PRESIDENT,

I come to acquit myself of a duty very dear to my heart.—I come to deposit in your hands, and in the midst of a people justly renowned for their courage and their love of liberty, the symbol of the triumphs and of the enfranchisement of my nation.

When she broke her chains;—when she proclaimed the imprescriptible rights of man;—when, in a terrible war, she sealed with her blood the covenant she had made with Liberty,—her own happiness was not alone the object of her glorious efforts;—her views extended also to all free people. She saw their interests blended with her own, and doubly rejoiced in her victories, which in assuring to her the enjoyment of her rights, became to them new *guarantees of their independence.*

These sentiments, which animated the French nation from the dawn of their revolution, have acquired new strength since the foundation of the Republic. France, at that time, by the form of its government, assimilated to, or rather identified with, free people, saw in them only friends and brothers. Long accustomed to regard the American people as her most faithful allies, she has sought to draw closer the ties already formed in the fields of America, under the auspices of victory, over the ruins of tyranny.

The National Convention, the organ of the will of the French nation, have more than once expressed their sentiments to the American people;—but, above all, these burst forth on that august day, when the Minister of the United States presented to the National Representation the colours of his country. Desiring never to lose recollections as dear to Frenchmen as they must be to Americans, the

Convention ordered that these colours should be placed in the hall of their sittings. They had experienced sensations too agreeable not to cause them to be partaken of by their allies, and decreed that to them the National colours should be presented.

Mr. President, I do not doubt their expectations will be fulfilled; and I am convinced that every citizen will receive with a pleasing emotion, this flag, elsewhere the terror of the enemies of liberty, here the certain pledge of faithful friendship; especially when they recollect that it guides to combat, men who have *shared their toils*, and who were prepared for liberty by *aiding them to acquire their own*.

(Signed) P. A. ADÉT.

President's Answer.

Born, Sir, in a land of liberty; having early learned its value; having engaged in a perilous conflict to defend it; having, in a word, devoted the best years of my life to secure its permanent establishment in my own country; my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes are irresistibly excited, whensoever in any country I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom. But above all, the events of the French revolution have produced the deepest solicitude, as well as the highest admiration. To call your nation brave were to pronounce but common praise. Wonderful people! Ages to come will read with astonishment the history of your brilliant exploits! I rejoice that the period of your toils and of your immense sacrifices is approaching. I rejoice that the interesting revolutionary movements of so many years have issued in the formation of a constitution designed to give permanency to the great object for which you have contended. I rejoice that liberty, which you have so long embraced with enthusiasm,—liberty, of which

which you have been the invincible defenders, now finds an asylum in the bosom of a regularly organized government;—a government, which, being formed to secure the happiness of the French people, corresponds with the ardent wishes of my heart, while it gratifies the pride of every citizen of the United States, by its resemblance to their own.—On these glorious events, accept, Sir, my sincere congratulations.

In delivering to you *these sentiments*, I express not my own feelings only, but those of my fellow-citizens, in relation to *the commencement, the progress, and the issue of the French revolution**: and they will cordially join with me in purest wishes to the Supreme Being, that the citizens of our sister republic, our magnanimous allies, may soon enjoy in peace, that liberty, which they have purchased at so great a price, and all the happiness which liberty can bestow.

I receive, Sir, with lively sensibility, the symbol of the triumphs and of the enfranchisement of your nation, the colours of France, which you have now presented to the United States. The transaction will be announced to Congress; and the colours will be deposited with those archives of the United States, which are at once the evidences and the memorials of their freedom and independence. May these be perpetual! and may the friendship of the two republics be commensurate with their existence!

G. WASHINGTON.

There is nothing in this letter of the French Minister, which seems to call for a remark, after what I have said on the letter of the Committee of Public Safety, except it be the closing sentence;

* This was *after* the reign of Robespierre!

where he tells us, that the flag guides to combat men who have shared *our toils*, and who were prepared for liberty by *aiding us to acquire* our own.

The first thing I shall take notice of here, is, their aiding us to *acquire liberty*. If this be true, we knew not what liberty was before their arrival. We were, then, *slaves* to the King of Great Britain. Take care, Mr. Adet; you have touched on a tender string here! What! Sir, were we slaves? And are we yet the *sons of slaves*? If you find me one single American (of British descent) who will allow that he is the *son of a slave*, I'll give you leave to guillotine me to-morrow morning, fresh and fasting.

The President begins his answer by rejecting this degrading idea. "*Born, Sir, in a land of liberty.*" As if he had said: No, no, Sir, I am no *freed man*; I was never a slave; I was *born free*.—"Born, Sir, in a land of liberty; having *early* learned its value; having engaged in a perilous conflict to *defend it*;" and not to *acquire it*. This is the language of every American that has too much respect for himself and his ancestors, to allow that he is no better than a freed negro. To talk of *aiding us to acquire our liberty*, what is it but to put us on a footing with those deluded wretches, whom Victor Hugues is now *aiding to acquire their liberty* at St. Vincent's and Granada?

And with respect to the *aid* that we received from France; there are but very few of us nowadays who are not well convinced, that that *aid* was afforded from motives that call for no mighty degree of gratitude; and even if we could ever have had a doubt of this, the express declarations of the Convention would have removed it. But, supposing the aid to have been given from motives of pure love to us, and regard to our welfare; who gave it? Not the National Convention. It was a King, whom

whom that Convention has put to death.—The Minister tells us, that the flag “guides to combat, “men who have *shared our toils.*” What! did the armies of the Convention ever share our toils? I fancy we shall find, that few of the men who shared our toils have escaped the fatal axe. Those that did, are pining away their days in a dismal dungeon, or are fled into some foreign land; nay, some of the men who shared our toils, are now sharing the toils of the British, instead of the French armies.

Any hint of this kind might, then, have been spared at the presenting of the thunderbolt flag; but, it seems, we are never to hear the last of this assistance received from France. Not a letter, not a communication, be it ever so short or so trifling, do we ever receive without being reminded of it. It is a maxim, that, when once an obligation is mentioned by the obliging party, the obligation ceases. How often, then, has our obligation ceased? “Time was,” says Macbeth, “when the breath “was out, men ceased to exist; but now they rise “from their graves with twenty mortal murders on “their heads, and push us from our stools.” So it is with our obligation to the French; in vain do we pay, in vain do we discharge it, in vain do they forfeit all demand on us; still, like the grisly ghost of Banquo, does it rise and stare us in the face. I hope our children, at any rate, will have the courage to say, “Shake not thy gory locks at us; thou “canst not say ’twas we.”

I do not know how my neighbours may think on this subject; but, for me, I cannot bear the idea of this everlasting debt of gratitude. It lies like a mountain on my breast. Is it redeemable? if it be, for the love of Heaven, let us pay it off, and have done with it. If I can find but ten men to join me, I’ll petition Congress to lay a poll-tax of a guinea a
head

head for that purpose ; that we may be able, once before we die, to say we are out of debt.

But it is time to come to the manner in which the House of Representatives received the flag, this pledge of the friendship of the Convention,

Mr. GILES informed the House, that having been aware that the flag would be presented to the House this day, considering it as an additional testimony of the affection of France, and it having been the practice, on analogous occasions, for the House to express their sentiments independent of the other branch, he had prepared a resolution expressive of what he conceived would be their sense on the occasion. It was nearly in the words following :

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to make known to the Representatives of the French People, that the House has received with the most lively sensations the communications of the Committee of Public Safety, on the 21st of October, 1794, accompanied with the colours of the French Republic, and to assure them that the presentation of the colours of France to the Congress of the United States is deemed a most honourable testimony of the existing sympathy and affections of the two republics, founded upon their solid and reciprocal interests : that the House rejoices in the opportunity of congratulating the French Republic on the brilliant and glorious achievements accomplished under it, during the present afflictive war, and that they hope those achievements will be attended with a perfect attainment of their object, the permanent establishment of the liberty and happiness of that great and magnanimous people."

Mr. SEDGWICK wished that a thousand copies of the communications might be printed, and the farther

ther consideration of the message deferred till to-morrow.

Mr. HARPER and Mr. W. SMITH also recommended a delay. In the sentiments of the resolution they both agreed. Perhaps the wording might be somewhat altered.

Mr. SWANWICK was against postponing the consideration of the message, and observed that the Convention, on receiving a similar present from this country, had proceeded instantly to a vote respecting it.

Mr. W. SMITH recommended to alter the wording of the resolution, by inserting *the Executive of France*, instead of *the Representatives of the French People*, to whom the message in reply was to be directed.

Mr. SHERBOURNE observed, that the difference of opinion respecting the branch of Government to which the answer of the House should be addressed, furnished an additional reason for a postponement. He highly respected the author of the motion, and believed his own feelings on the present occasion as fervent as those of any member. And though the feelings of the House might not be as *ardent* on the morrow as at this moment, yet he presumed that the sentiment would be the same. He conceived that it would be more satisfactory to the Republic, and more consistent with the dignity of the House, that their answer should be the result of cool deliberation, than a sudden impulse of enthusiasm, which the present occasion was calculated to inspire. He would therefore move that the farther consideration of the resolution on the table be postponed till to-morrow.

Mr. SWANWICK thought a postponement in this case, as in many others, would only be a waste of time. The motion was negatived. Mr. W. Smith's amendment

amendment was then taken up, and, after some conversation, was also negatived.

Mr. PARKER moved an amendment as follows :
 " That this House has received with the most *sincere and* lively sensibility," &c. The amendment was for inserting the two words in italics, to which the House consented. The message was then voted unanimously, and a thousand copies of the communications and resolutions were ordered to be printed. A Committee of two members was appointed to wait on the President, and inform him of the resolution agreed to by the House.

Oh, fy ! Mr. Sedgwick ! how could you propose to put off the consideration of this charming subject till the next day ? A delay of a whole twenty-four hours ! Upon my word, Sir, such a proposition indicated but little regard for our sister Republic. How different the conduct of Mr. Giles ! He comes to the House with a *resolution* in his pocket, ready prepared, even before the communication is received. Happy member ! He has thus got the start of you all in the affections of our very dear allies. Mr. Parker made, indeed, a push to come in with him, by adding the word *sincere* ; but we all know that the first step is every thing in like cases.—*Sincere and lively* are not, 'tis true, the properest epithets that could be placed before the word *sensibility* ; but it would be mere pedantry to subject to rules of propriety, a resolution dictated by that " sudden impulse of *enthusiasm*, which the present occasion " was calculated to inspire."

Mr. SWANWICK (don't smile, reader) saw, at once, the impropriety of postponing the consideration ; because—because what ?—because " the Convention, on receiving a similar *present* from *this country*, had proceeded instantly to a vote respecting it."—And who told you, my dear little orator,

tor, that "the Convention had received a similar *present from this country?*"—Who is *this country?* What is it? I am well informed that neither the Government nor the Legislature knew any thing at all about the matter, till an account of it appeared in the newspapers; and you are not to learn, I presume, that whatever an ambassador does of his own head, is in no wise binding on his country. But suppose even that the American flag delivered to the Convention, had been a present from this country, their manner of receiving it could have but little weight here, with men who were not devoted to their interests rather than to those of America. How long, I pray, have their measures become precedents here? "They proceeded to a vote instantly." And when did they do otherwise? When did they hesitate? When they decreed that each department should *build a ship of the line*, there was no hesitation, any more than when they decreed that there should be *no more beggars* in France, and *no more kings* in Europe. Besides, if you are to imitate the Convention, I'll assure you, you must make a very considerable change in the House of Representatives. You must have half a dozen negroes and mulattoes amongst you; and it would have been necessary, the day before the reception of this pretty present, for your Speaker to receive and embrace an old negro woman at the head of her many-coloured progeny. Even the ceremony itself must have undergone a change; for the American flag was carried to the Convention by an *American*; consequently the French flag should have been brought in by a *Frenchman*; and, if the imitation was to be perfect in all its parts, your Speaker should have descended from his seat, and given this bearer the fraternal hug. How vain, then, was it to talk about imitations! Before you aspire to this sublime perfection in patriotism, you and your party must raise us to the height

height of the French people ; a change more easy to attempt than accomplish, whatever you may please to think of it.

As I have already taken up so much of the reader's time with this flag, I shall not, at present, enter into an inquiry whether it was proper, or not, to make the President of the United States a sort of go-between to the Congress and the Convention ; nor shall I ask how the American Ambassador at Paris came to think of involving his Government in such an affair ; I shall only observe, that, as I believe it is the first instance of legislative assemblies sending presents to each other, so, I hope, it will be the last.

THE END OF CENSOR, NO. 1.

THE
BLOODY BUOY,

THROWN OUT AS A

Warning to the political Pilots of all Nations ;

OR, A

FAITHFUL RELATION

OF A MULTITUDE OF

ACTS OF HORRID BARBARITY,

SUCH AS THE EYE NEVER WITNESSED, THE TONGUE
EXPRESSED, OR THE IMAGINATION CONCEIVED,
UNTIL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE

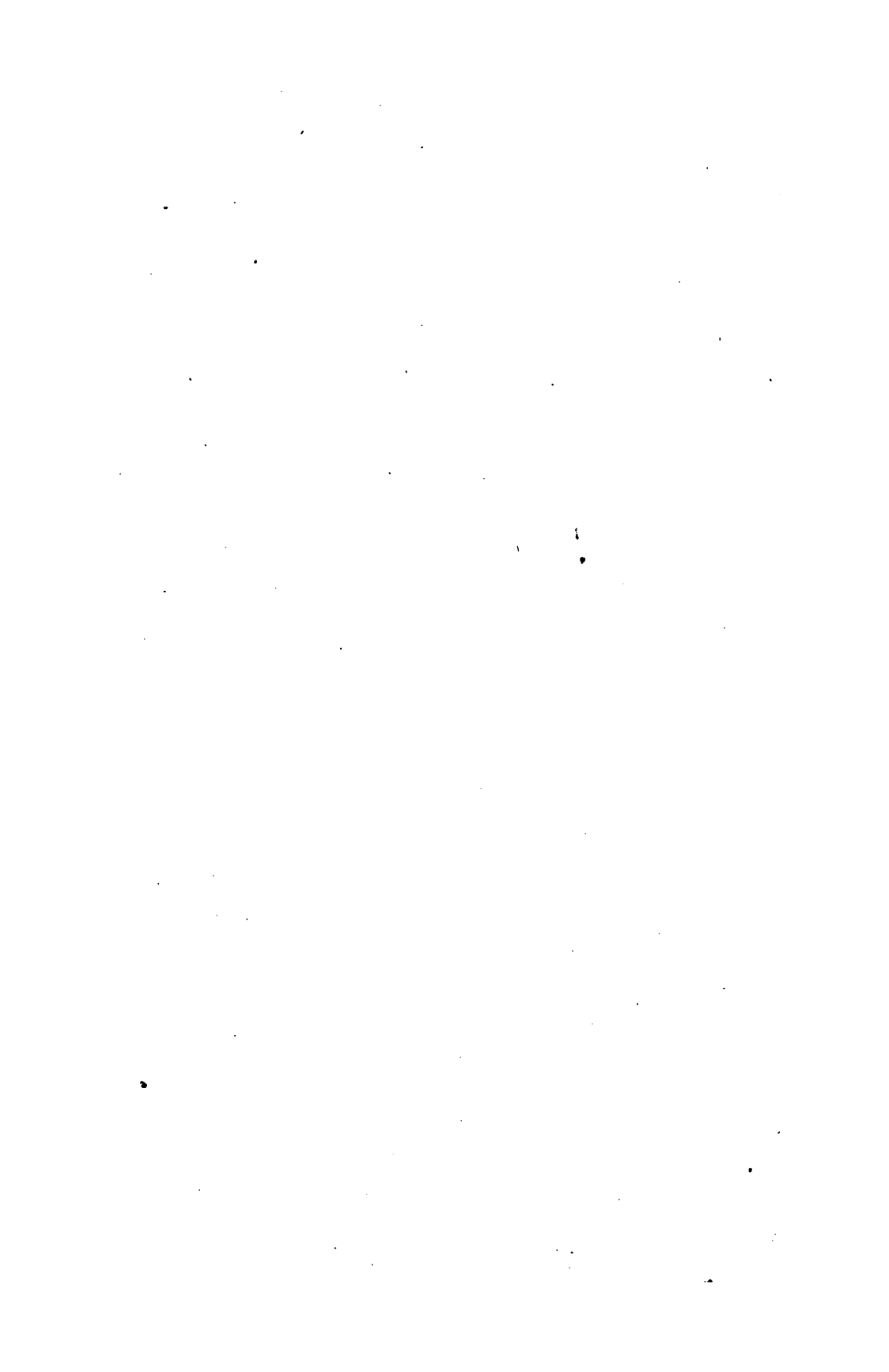
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN INSTRUCTIVE ESSAY,

Tracing these dreadful Effects to their real Causes.

“ You will plunge your country into an abyfs of eternal detestation and
“ infamy ; and the annals of your boasted revolution will ferve as a BLOODY
• “ Buoy, warning the nations of the earth to keep aloof from the mighty
“ ruin.”
Abbé Maury's Speech to the National Affembly.



INTRODUCTION.

THE object of the following work is to give the people of America a striking and experimental proof of the horrible effects of anarchy and infidelity.

The necessity of such an undertaking, at this time, would have been, in a great measure, precluded, had our public prints been conducted with that impartiality and undaunted adherence to truth, which the interests of the community and of suffering humanity demanded from them. But, so far from this, the greater part of those vehicles of information have most industriously concealed, or glossed over, the actions, as well as the motives of the ruling powers in France; they have extenuated all their unheard-of acts of tyranny, on the false, but specious pretence, that they were conducive to the establishment of a free government; and one of their editors has not blushed to declare, that "it would be *an easy matter to apologize for all the massacres* that have taken place in that country."

We have seen, indeed, some exceptions; some few prints that have not dishonoured themselves by going this length: but even these have observed a timid silence, and have avoided speaking of the shocking barbarities of the French, with as much caution as if we were to partake in the disgrace, and as if it was in our power to hide them from the world, and from posterity. If they have now and then given way to a just indignation, this has been done in such a manner, and has been so timid, as to do them but little honour. They have acted the part of the tyrannized people of Paris: they have

huzza'd every succeeding tyrant while on the theatre of power, and, the instant he was transferred to a scaffold, they have covered him with reproach. They have attributed to factions, to individuals, what was the work of the national representatives, and of the nation itself. They have, in short, inveighed against the murderers of the fallen assassins, while they have, in the same breath, applauded the principles on which they acted, and on which their survivors and their partisans do still act.

Thus has the liberty of the press, a liberty of which we so justly boast, been not only useless to us during this terrible convulsion of the civilized world, but has been so perverted as to lead us into errors, which had well nigh plunged us into the situation of our distracted allies. Nor are we yet secure. Disorganizing and blasphemous principles have been disseminated among us with but too much success; and, unless we profit from the awful example before us, we may yet experience all the calamities that Heaven and earth now call on us to deplore.

Fully impressed with this persuasion, the author of these sheets has ventured to undeceive the misguided; to tear aside the veil, and show to a yet happy people the dangers they have to fear. With this object in view, he has too much confidence in the good sense and piety of the major part of his countrymen, not to be assured, that his efforts will be seconded by their zeal in the cause of order and religion.

The materials for the work have been collected from different publications, *all written by Frenchmen*, and all, except one, from which only a few extracts were made, *printed at Paris*.

Well aware that persons of a certain description will leave nothing untried to discredit a performance of this nature, the author has taken particular care

to mention the work, and even the page, from which each fact is extracted.

He foresees that the cant of *modern patriotism* will be poured forth against him on this occasion. He knows that he shall be represented as an enemy of the French nation, and of the cause of liberty. To this he will answer beforehand, with the frankness of a man who thinks no freedom equal to that of speaking the truth. As to the individuals composing this formerly amiable nation, many of them, and he hopes very many, are still entitled to his love and esteem. He has, from his infancy, been an admirer of their sprightly wit ; he owes a thousand obligations to their officious hospitality, and has long boasted of their friendship. But with respect to the *regenerated* French, he would blush to be thought their friend, after what he has recorded in this volume. And, as to the cause of liberty, if that cause is to be maintained by falsehood, blasphemy, robbery, violation, and murder, he is, and trusts he ever shall be, its avowed and mortal enemy.

THE
BLOODY BUOY,

&c. &c.

CHAP. I.

FACTS taken from *L'Histoire du Clergé François*, or,
The History of the French Clergy, by Abbé Barruel.

IT will be recollected by the greater part of my readers, that soon after the beginning of the French revolution, the National Assembly conceived the plan of destroying the religion of their forefathers. In order to effect this, they separated the Gallican church from that of Rome, and imposed an oath on the clergy, which they could not take without becoming apostates in the fullest sense of the word. All the worthy and conscientious part of that body refused of course, and this refusal was made a pretext to drive them from their livings, and fill the vacancies with such as had more pliant consciences, principles better adapted to the impious system which the leaders in the Assembly had prepared for their too credulous countrymen.

The ejection of the priesthood was attended with numberless acts of most atrocious and wanton cruelty: these have been recorded by the *Abbé Barruel*, in a work entitled, *The History of the French Clergy*; and though what is here to be found will dwindle into nothing, when compared to what I have extracted

from other works, yet it could not be wholly omitted, without showing a degree of insensibility for the sufferings of these men, that I am persuaded the reader would not have excused. I shall therefore begin the relation with some extracts from that work.

It will be observed that these extracts, as well as all those that compose this compilation, are an abridged translation from the French; but as far as relates to those contained in this chapter, the American reader may easily verify the translation by examining the English edition of the Abbé *Barruel's* work, which is to be found in most parts of the Union.

Page 104.—Soon after the first National Assembly had decreed that the Comtat of Avignon belonged to the French nation, an army of assassins, of whom one Jourdan, surnamed the Cut-throat, was the commander, took possession of the unfortunate city of Avignon. The churches were immediately pillaged, the sacred vases profaned and carried off, and the altars levelled to the ground. The prisons were soon filled, and the unhappy victims were released only to suffer death. A deep pit was dug to receive their dead bodies, six hundred of which were thrown into it, mangled and distorted, before ten o'clock the next day. Among them was Mr. Nohac, a priest, in the eightieth year of his age. He had been thirty years rector of St. Simphorien, a parish which he preferred to all others, and which he could not be prevailed on to quit for a more lucrative one, because he would not desert the poor. During his rectorship he had been the common father of his parishioners, the refuge of the indigent, the comforter of the afflicted, and the friend and counsellor of every honest man. When the hour of danger approached, his friends advised him to fly; but no entreaties could prevail on him to abandon his flock: "No," said the good old man, "I have
"watched

“ watched over them in the halcyon days of peace,
 “ and shall I now leave them 'mid storms and tem-
 “ pests, without a guide, without any one to comfort
 “ them in their last dreary moments?” Mr. Nolhac,
 who, till now, had been respected even by the cut-
 throats, was sent to the prison the evening before the
 execution. His appearance and his salutation were
 those of a consoling angel: “ I come, my children,
 “ to die with you: we shall soon appear in the pre-
 “ sence of that God whom we serve, and who will
 “ not desert us in the hour of death.” He fortified
 their drooping courage, administered the last con-
 solatory pledges of his love, and the next day em-
 braced and cheered each individual as he was called
 forth by the murderers. Two of these stood at the
 door with a bar of iron in their hands, and as the
 prisoners advanced knocked them down: the bodies
 were then delivered over to the other ruffians, who
 hacked and disfigured them with their sabres before
 they threw them into the pit, that they might not af-
 terwards be known by their friends and relations.—
 When the cut-throats were dispersed, every one was
 anxious to find the body of Mr. Nolhac. It was at
 last discovered by the cassock, and the crucifix which
 he wore on his breast. It had been pierced in fifty
 places, and the skull was mashed to pieces.

Page 210.—Several priests were conducted to La-
 grave, where they were told that they must take
 the oath *, or suffer death. Among them was Sul-
 pician, of 98 years of age, and a young Abbé of the
 name of Novi. The whole chose death, the véné-
 rable Sulpician leading the way. The trial of
 Mr. Novi was particularly severe. The ruffians
 brought his father to the spot, and told him, if he

* This oath amounted to neither more nor less than direct per-
 jury: since, by taking it, they must break the oath they had made
 when they entered the priesthood.

could persuade his son to swear, he should live. The tender old man, wavering, hesitating between the feelings of nature and the duties of religion, at last yields to parental fondness, throws his arms round his child's neck, buries his face in his bosom, and with tears and sobs presses his compliance. "O! my child, my child, spare the life of your father!"—"My dearest father! my dearest father," returned the Abbé, "I will do more. I will die worthy of you and my God. You educated me a Catholic: I am a priest, a servant of the Lord. It will be a greater comfort to you in your gray hairs, to have your son a martyr than an apostate."—The villains tear them asunder, and, amidst the cries and lamentations of the father, extend the son before him a bleeding corpse.

Page 211.—In the same town, and on the same day, the axe was suspended over the head of Mr. Terou, when the revolutionists bethought them that he had a son. This son was about ten years of age, and, in order to enjoy the father's torments and the child's tears both at a time, he was brought to the place of execution. His tears and cries gave a relish to the ferocious banquet. After tiring themselves with the spectacle, they put the father to death before the eyes of the child, whom they besmeared with his blood.

Page 217.—After having spoken of the conduct of the magistrates and mob at Bourdeaux, the historian mentions the death of Mr. Langoiran and Abbé Dupuis, thus:

At the entrance of the court-house, the Abbé Dupuis received a first wound; others soon levelled him to the ground. A young lad of about fifteen or sixteen cut a hole in the cheek with a knife, to hold up the head by, while others were employed in
haggling

in haggling it from the body, which was still in agonies. This operation not succeeding in such a crowd, they took hold of the legs, and dragged the carcass about the streets and round the ramparts.

Mr. Langoiran had but just set his foot on the first step of the stairs, when he was knocked down. His head was hacked off in an instant, and a ruffian held it up, crying aloud, "Off with your hats! long live the nation!" The bareheaded populace answered, "Long live the nation!" The head was then carried round the town in signal of a triumph gained by a tumultuous populace and ten thousand soldiers under arms, over a poor defenceless priest.

Page 218.—The 14th of July, so famous in the annals of the revolution, was this year celebrated at Limoges, by the death of Mr. Chabrol. He was a most useful member of society; distinguished round his neighbourhood as a bone-setter; he was at once the surgeon and the pastor of his parishioners; and among his murderers were some of those who owed to him the use of their limbs. He was of a quick and impetuous temper, and endued with uncommon bodily strength. His death certainly was not that of a Christian martyr; but it deserves particular notice, as a striking proof of the cowardly ferocity of the French populace.

He had taken shelter at a magistrate's, and begged leave to elude the mob by going out of the house the back way; but the magistrate durst not comply. He was forced to face his blood-thirsty pursuers. The indignant priest met them at the door; the attack instantly began. Without a single weapon of defence, he had to encounter hundreds of the mob, armed with clubs, guns, sabres, and knives; but, notwithstanding the amazing inequality, he held them a long time at bay. Some he felled to the ground, others ran from him; he
tore

BLOODY BUOY.

tore a bayonet out of his flesh, and stabbing it into the breast of his adversary, sent him to die among the crowd. At last, weakened with the loss of blood, he falls, and the base and merciless scoundrels cry, *To the lamp-post!* The idea of hanging reanimates the remaining drops in his veins. He rises upon his legs for the last time; but numbers prevailed: again he falls, covered with wounds, and expires. His last groan is followed by the ferocious howl of *Victory!* The dastardly assassins set no bounds to their insults; they cut and hacked his body to pieces, and wrangled for the property of his ragged and bloody cassock.

Page 268.—As soon as the unfortunate Louis XVI. had been transferred from his throne to a loathsome prison, the National Assembly formed a plan for the total extirpation of the priests, and with them the Christian religion. The ministers of the altar were seized and thrown into prison, or transported from every part of the country. At Paris, about three hundred of them were shut up, in order to be massacred, and were actually put to death during the first and second weeks of September, 1792.

About one hundred and eighty of these unhappy men were confined in the convent of the Carmelites. A troop of assassins commenced the massacre in the garden where the priests were permitted to take the air; but while they were proceeding a Commissary arrived, and informed them that the work was not to go on that way. There were now about a hundred left alive, who were all ordered into the sanctuary of the church; but, to get thither, they had to pass through a crowd of their murderers. One received a ball, another a blow, and another a stab; so that when arrived in the sanctuary, they presented a scene the most heart-piercing that eyes
ever

ever beheld. Some were dragged in wounded, others quite dead. Even here, though surrounded by a detachment of soldiers, the blood-thirsty mob rushed in upon them, and murdered several at the very altar. The sanctuary of a Christian church was, for the first time since the blessed Redeemer appeared among men, filled with a promiscuous group of the living, the dying, and the dead. The marble pavement was covered with dirt, and gore, and mangled carcases; and the sides of the altar splashed with blood and brains.

The soldiers had not been brought to save the lives of the priests: the Commissary who headed them was to execute a plan of more deliberate murder. The surviving priests were called out two at a time, and murdered in the presence of the Commissary, who took their names down in a book, as he was answerable for their assassination. Of all that were found here, only four or five escaped.—The like undistinguished carnage was exhibited at the other prisons.

Every one of these men might have saved his life by taking the proffered oath, yet not one of them condescended to do it. Let the infidel show us, if he can, any thing like this in the annals of his impious sect.

Page 318.—At the gate of the prison of La Force, the assassins were placed in two rows: the two ruffians called Judges, who gave the signal of death, were placed at the gate; and, as soon as the prisoner passed them, the assassins dispatched him with their knives or sabres, throwing the bodies in a heap at the end of the line. At the foot of this trophy of dead bodies, says the historian, we must now exhibit a scene of a different kind, in the murder of the Princess of Lamballe. She had retired in safety to London; but her attachment to the royal family would

would not suffer her to remain in her asylum, while they were exposed. Her fidelity was a crime that the infidelity of her enemies could never forgive.

When this illustrious victim was brought forth, she was asked to swear an eternal hatred to the King, the Queen, and to royalty. "The oath," said she, "is foreign to the sentiments of my heart, and I will never take it."—She was instantly delivered over to the ministers of death. These ruffians pretend to caress her, stroke her cheeks with their hands, yet reeking with human blood, and thus conduct her along the line. Amidst all these insults her courage never deserted her. When arrived at the heap of dead bodies, she was ordered to kneel and ask pardon of the nation: "I have never injured the nation," she replied, "nor will I ask its pardon."—"Down," said they, "and ask pardon, if you wish to live."—"No," said she, "I scorn to ask pardon from assassins that call themselves the nation: I will never bend my knee, or accept of a favour at such hands."

Her soul was superior to fear. "Kneel and ask pardon," was heard from a thousand voices, but in vain. Two of the assassins now seized her arms, and pulling her from side to side, nearly dislocated her shoulders. "Go on, scoundrels," said the heroic Princess, "I will ask no pardon." In a rage to see themselves thus overcome by the constancy of a woman, they dashed her down, and rushed in upon her with their knives and poniards. Her head soon appeared hoisted upon a liberty pike, and her heart, after *being bit* by one of the ruffians, was put into a basin. Both were carried in triumph through the streets of Paris. At last, after having feasted the eyes of the multitude, the bearers took them to the Temple, now become a prison; where one of the two Commissaries that guarded the King, called him

him to the window, that he might see it; but his companion, a little more humane, prevented the unfortunate Monarch from approaching. A fainting fit, from hearing of the event, fortunately saved the Queen from the heart-rending fight.

The body stripped naked, and the bowels hanging out, was exposed to view on the top of the murdered victims, where it remained till the massacre was over.

Page 327.—A great fire was made in the Place Dauphine, at which many, both men and women, were roasted. The Countess of Perignan, with her three daughters, were dragged thither. They were stripped, rubbed over with oil, and then put to the fire. The eldest of the daughters, who was fifteen, begged them to put an end to her torments, and a young fellow shot her through the head. The cannibals, who were shouting and dancing round the fire, enraged to see themselves thus deprived of the pleasure of hearing her cries, seized the too merciful murderer, and threw him into the flames.

When the Countess was dead, they brought six priests, and cutting off some of the roasted flesh, presented them each a piece to eat. They shut their eyes, and made no answer. The oldest of the priests was then stripped and tied opposite the fire. The mob told the others, that perhaps they might prefer the relish of a priest's flesh to that of a Countess; but they suddenly rushed into the flames. The barbarians tore them out, to prolong their torments; not, however, before they were dead, and beyond the reach even of Parisian cruelty.

Page 328.—On Monday, September 3d, at ten o'clock in the evening, a man, or rather a monster, named Philip, living in the street of the Temple, came to the Jacobin Club, of which he was a member, and, with a box in his hand, mounted the tribune,

bunc. Here he made a long speech on patriotism, concluding by a declaration, that he looked upon every one who preferred the ties of blood and of nature to that of patriotic duty, as an aristocrat worthy of death; and, to convince them of the purity and sincerity of his own principles, he opened the box, and held up by the gray hair, the bloody and shrivelled heads of his father and mother, "which I have cut off," said the impious wretch, "because they obstinately persisted in not hearing mass from a constitutional priest *." The speech of this parricide received the loudest applauses; and the two heads were ordered to be buried beneath the busts of Ankerstroom and Brutus, behind the President's chair †.

The last fact related is of such a horrid nature, that though so well authenticated, it would almost stagger our belief, had we not proof of so many others which equal, if not surpass it. I shall here extract one from *La Conjuration de Maximilien Robespierre*, a work published at Paris in the year 1795.

The author, after speaking of the unnatural ferociousness which the revolution had produced in the hearts of the people, says (page 162), I will here give a proof, and a shocking one it is.—Garnier of Orleans had a son, who had been intended for the priesthood, and had been initiated in the subdeacon-

* That is, one of the apostates.

† According to Monsieur Peltier, in his *Picture of Paris*, the number of persons murdered in the different prisons of that city, from Sunday the 2d to Friday the 7th of September, 1792, amounted to 1005. To these, he says, should be added, the poor creatures who were put to death in the hospital of Bicêtre, and in the yards of La Salpêtrière; those who were drowned at the hospital of La Force; and all those who were dragged out of the dungeons of the Conciergerie and the Chatelet, to be butchered on the Pont-au-Change, which may be computed, without exaggeration, at 8000 individuals.

ship; consequently he was attached to the Christian faith. His father one day seized him by the throat, and led him to the Revolutionary Tribunal, where he was instantly condemned; nor would the barbarous father quit his child till he saw his head severed from his body. After the execution was over, the tribunal, ever as capricious as bloody, feigned remorse, and were proceeding to condemn the father; but the National Convention, informed of the affair, annulled the process, and publicly applauded the conduct of the unnatural father, as an imitator of the republican Brutus.

In the extracts from the History of the French Clergy, the proposed limits of this work have obliged me to forego the pleasure of mentioning a great number of facts which reflect infinite honour on that calumniated and unfortunate body of men, as well as on the Christian religion. The following trait, however, I cannot prevail on myself to omit.

Page 341.—At Rheims lived a man, who, from the number of his years, might be called the Dean of Christendom; and, from the same of his virtues, the Priest, by excellence. He had long been known by no other name than that of the Holy Priest. This was Mr. Pacquot, rector of St. John's. When the revolutionary assassins broke into his oratory they found him on his knees. A true and faithful disciple of Jesus Christ, he yielded himself into the hands of his executioners without so much as a murmur, and suffered himself to be led before the ferocious magistrate, as a lamb to the slaughter. He crossed the street singing the Psalms of David, while the sanguinary ruffians that conducted him endeavoured to drown his voice by their blasphemies. At the threshold of the town-hall an attempt was made to murder him, but the mayor interfered, saying

saying to the people, "What are you about? This old fellow is beneath notice. He is a fool: fanaticism has turned his brain." These words roused the venerable old man. "No, Sir," says he, "I am neither a fool nor a fanatic, nor shall my life take refuge under such an ignominious shelter. I wish you to know, that I was never more in my sober senses. These men have tendered to me an oath decreed by the National Assembly. I am well acquainted with the nature of this oath: I know that it is impious, and subversive of religion. They leave me the choice of the oath or death, and I choose the latter.—I hope, Sir, I have convinced you that I am in my senses, and know perfectly well what I am about."—The nettled magistrate immediately abandoned him to the mob. "Which of you," said the old man, "is to have the patriotic honour of being my murderer?"—"I am," says a man who moved in a sphere that ought to have distinguished him from a horde of ruffians. "Let me embrace you, then," says Mr. Pacquot; which he actually did, and prayed to God to forgive him. This done, the hard-hearted villain gave him the first blow, and his companions buried their bayonets in his emaciated breast.

The reader's heart will, I hope, teach him the love and veneration that every Christian ought to feel for the memory of this evangelical old man.

If the death of all the murdered priests was not marked with such unequivocal proofs of constancy and fidelity as that as Mr. Pacquot, it was, perhaps, because a like opportunity did not always present itself. One thing we know, that, by taking an oath contrary to their faith, they might not only have escaped the knives of their assassins, but might have enjoyed an annual income. Their refusing to do this is an incontrovertible testimony that they were

no impostors or hypocrites, but sincere believers of the religion they taught, and that they valued that religion more than life itself: and this is the best answer that can possibly be given to all the scandalous and atrocious calumnies that their enemies and the enemies of Christianity have vomited forth against them.

CHAP. II.

FACTS taken from *La Relation des Cruautés commises dans les Lyonnais*.

THE next work that presents itself, following the chronological order, is, *La Relation des Cruautés commises dans les Lyonnais*; or, *The Relation of the Cruelties committed in the Lyonnese*.

Page 37.—The grand scene of destruction and massacre was opened in the once flourishing and opulent city of Lyons, by a public profanation of all those things that had been looked upon as sacred. The murderers in chief, chosen from among the members of the National Convention, were a play-actor, and a man who under the old Government had been a bum-bailiff. Their first step was to brutify the minds of the populace; to extinguish the remaining sparks of humanity and religion, by teaching them to set Heaven and an hereafter at defiance; in order to prepare them for the massacres which they were commissioned to execute.

A mock procession was formed in imitation of those observed by the Catholic church. It was headed by a troop of men bearing in their hands the chalices and other vases which had been taken from the plundered churches. At the head of the procession there was an ass, dressed in the vestments of the priests that the revolutionary army had murdered in the neighbourhood of the city, with a mitre on his head. This beast, a beast of the same kind on

which our Redeemer rode, now bore a load of crucifixes and other symbols of the Christian religion; having the Old and New Testament tied to his tail. When this procession came to the spot which had been fixed on for the purpose, the Bible was burnt, and the ~~als~~ given to drink out of the sacramental cup, amidst the shouts and rejoicings of the blasphemous assistants.

Such a beginning plainly foretold what was to follow. An undistinguishing butchery of all the rich immediately commenced. Hundreds of persons, women as well as men, were taken out of the city at a time, tied to trees, shot to death, stabbed, or else knocked on the head. In the city the guillotine never ceased a moment; it was shifted three times; holes were dug at each place to receive the blood, and yet it ran in the gutters.

It were impossible to describe this scene of carnage, or to give an account of each act of the, till now, unheard-of barbarity; two or three, however, demand a particular mention.

Page 39.—Madam Luras, hearing that her husband was condemned, went, accompanied with her ten children, and threw herself on her knees before the ferocious Collot d'Herbois, one of the members of the Convention; but no mercy could be expected from a wretch, whose business it was to kill. She followed her beloved husband to the place of execution, surrounded with her weeping offspring. On seeing him fall, her cries, and the wildness of her looks, but too plainly foretold her approaching end. She was seized with the pains of a premature childbirth, and was carried home to her house, where a Commissary soon after arrived, drove her from her bed and her house, from the door of which she fell dead into the street.

Page 41.—Two women who had persisted in asking the life of their husbands, were tied, during
fix

six hours, to the posts of the guillotine. Their own husbands were executed before their eyes, and their blood sprinkled over them.

Page 42.—Miss Servan, a young lady of about eighteen, was put to death because she would not discover the retreat of her father.

Page 47.—Madame Cochet was condemned for having put a match to the cannon during the siege, and for having assisted in her husband's escape. She was declared, by two surgeons, to be with child; but this was a reason of little weight with men whom we shall by and by see murdering infants, and even ripping them from the womb. She was instantly executed.

Page 101.—To these facts I shall add the death of Maupetit. He was made prisoner during the siege, buried alive up to his neck, and in this situation had his head mashed to pieces with small cannon-balls, which his enemies tossed at it with all the insulting grimaces of savages.

Page 104.—At Lyons the priests met with the same treatment as at other places, and honoured their deaths with the same unshaken fortitude. Twenty-seven were executed at one time, not one of whom had condescended to accept of the shameful conditions that were offered, nor even to solicit a pardon from the vile and blasphemous assassins.

During this murderous work, the city of Lyons was struck with terror. The members of the Convention stuck up a proclamation, declaring all those who should express the least symptom of pity, *suspected persons*. When the blood had, in some measure, ceased to flow, and the affrighted inhabitants ventured out of their houses, they were seen walking along the streets with their eyes fixed on the ground: men no longer stopped, shook hands, and gave each other good-morrow. The fear of death was stamped on every face: children

place of gratitude, filial piety, and all the tender affections.

What I am now going to relate, the mothers of future generations will hear with affright.—A child of ten years of age had been scolded, perhaps whipped, by his mother. He ran to the Revolutionary Tribunal, and accused her of being still attached to the Catholic religion. The accusation was admitted, the boy recompensed, and the mother executed in a few hours afterwards.

Tell us, ye mothers, for you only can know, what this poor creature must feel at seeing herself betrayed, and ready to be deprived of life, by the child she had borne in her womb, who but the other day hung at her breast, and for whom alone, perhaps, she wished to live!

Page 162.—In short, says the author, men contracted such a taste as excites horror even to believe it possible. God forbid that I should enter into particulars on this subject. The bowels of the reader would not permit him to proceed. Suffice it to say, that we have seen the time, when man was becoming the food of man. *Those who practised anatomy* during the reign of terror, know but too well what I could say here, if compassion for the feelings of my readers did not prevent me.

I cannot quit these facts, without once more referring the reader to the work from which I have selected them. I wish him not to depend on my veracity, for the truth of what he may find in a book written on the scene. *La Conjuraton de Robespierre* is to be had almost any where: I have seen above a dozen copies of it in the hands of different persons. It was, as I have already said, published at Paris, and, therefore, we may rest assured that the author has not exaggerated; but, on the contrary, we see by the last article here quoted, that he

he was afraid to say all that truth would have warranted,

CHAP. III.

FACTS selected from the *Procès Criminel des Membres du Comité Revolutionnaire de Nantes, et du ci-devant Representant du Peuple Carrier*; or, *Trial of the Members of the Revolutionary Committee at Nantz, and of the Representative Carrier.*

THE work which we are now entering on, was published at Paris during the last year; but, as an introduction to the facts extracted from it, it will be necessary to give the reader a concise sketch of the progress of the revolution, down to the epoch when the work was published.

The States-General, consisting of the three orders, the nobility, the clergy, and the tiers-etats, or commonalty, were assembled on the 4th of May, 1789. The deputies were all furnished with written instructions, in which they were positively enjoined to make no innovations as to the form of government. Notwithstanding this, it is well known they framed a constitution, by which the government was totally changed, the nobility abolished, and the church rent from that of Rome. Their constitution, however, though established at the expense of thousands of lives, and though one of the most ridiculous systems of government that ever was invented, did not fail to meet with partisans; and we have heard it extolled in this country as the masterpiece of human wisdom.

This first Assembly, which has been commonly called the Constituent Assembly, ended its beneficent labours on the 30th of September, 1791, and was immediately succeeded by another, which took the name of the Legislative Assembly. Most men

of sense foresaw that the second Assembly would improve upon the plan of destruction marked out by the first. The clergy, and many men of family and fortune, had been already driven from their homes and possessions; it remained for the Legislative Assembly to finish the work, by seizing on their property and exposing it to sale: this they failed not to do. Persecution and massacre increased daily; but as the small remains of power left in the hands of the King was still an obstacle, or rather the monarchy itself was an obstacle, they were determined to get rid of it. On the 10th of August, 1792, the King was dethroned (his fate is well known), and the daggers of the assassins were from that moment drawn, never more to be sheathed, but in the heart of some innocent victim. We have already seen something of the massacres which followed this event at Paris and other places; but these are trifles to what was to follow.

On the 21st of September, 1792, the third Assembly, generally called the National Convention, opened their sessions; and, though every individual member had repeatedly taken an oath to maintain the authority of the King, they at once declared France to be a republic.

After the murder of the King, this Convention declared war against a great part of the powers of Europe; and in order to be in a situation to make head against their enemies, seized on all the precious metals in the country, or rather they enacted such laws as obliged the poor oppressed people to bring it to their treasury, and receive in exchange a vile and worthless paper money. The churches were instantly pillaged, and no person dared appear with a watch, or any other article in gold or silver.

The violation of property was only a part of their plan. The hearts of the lower orders of the people were to be hardened; they were to be rendered brutal;

tal ; all fear of an hereafter was to be rooted from their souls, before they could be fit instruments in the hands of this hellish Assembly. With this object in view, they declared our blessed Lord and Redeemer to be an impostor, forbade the acknowledgment of him, and the exercise of his worship. The churches were turned into prisons, stables, &c. and over the gateways of the burial-grounds was written : " This is the place of *eternal sleep*."—Never, surely, was there a better plan for transforming a civilized people into a horde of cut-throats. It succeeded completely. The blood now flowed at Paris in an unceasing stream. A permanent tribunal was established, whose only business was to condemn, and certify to the Convention that the executions went on according to the lists sent from its Committees.

Besides legions of executioners, there were others of assassins. The command of these latter was given to those members of the Convention who were sent into the different parts of the country. Terror preceded these harbingers of death, and their footsteps were marked with blood. The sword, the fire, and the water, all became instruments of destruction.

During this murdering time, which has justly assumed the name of the *reign of terror*, the leaders of several factions of the revolutionists themselves received their reward on a scaffold, and, among others, Robespierre and his accomplices. When these men fell, the Convention, according to its usual custom, ascribed all the cruelties committed during some time before their death, to them alone ; and the people, always eager for blood, now demanded the heads of those whom they had assisted in the murder of their countrymen. By sacrificing these its instruments, the Convention saw a fair opportunity for removing the infamy from itself, and of perpetuating its power. In consequence, many of them were tried and executed

cuted, and, among others, Carrier (a member of the Convention), who had been stationed at Nantz, with the members of the Revolutionary Committee of that unfortunate town. From the trial of these men it is that I have selected the facts which are to compose this chapter. The trial was before the tribunal at Paris, to which place the accused were carried from Nantz.

It has been repeatedly asserted by those who seem to have more attachment to the cause of the French than to that of truth, that the barbarities committed in that country have been by the hands of foreigners. Such a story is impossible, and even ridiculous; but, however, it has induced me to insert here a list of the barbarous wretches who were so long the scourge of the city of Nantz, from which it will appear that they were all Frenchmen born and bred. This is an act of justice due to other nations.

Members of the Convention on Mission at Nantz.

Carrier, born in Gascony.

Members of the Revolutionary Committee at Nantz.

| | | |
|--------------|---|-----------------------|
| Goulin | } | <i>Born at Nantz.</i> |
| Chaux | | |
| Grand-Maison | | |
| Bachelier | | |
| Perrochaux | | |
| Mainguet | | |
| Naud | | |
| Gallen | | |
| Duraffier | | |

Leveque, born at Mayenne.

Blognie, born at Paris.

Battalié, born at Charitié-sur-Loire.

Joly, born at Angerville-la-Martel,

Pinard, born at Christople-Dubois.

Carrier was the great mover, the assassin-general; the Committee were his agents. Some of them were
always

always assembled in their hall, to give directions to the under-murderers, while the others took repose, or were dispatched on important expeditions, such as the shooting or drowning of hundreds at a time. They stood in need, however, of subaltern cut-throats, more determined and bloody than the people in general; and therefore they raised a company, who took the title of the Company of Marat, composed of the vilest wretches that were to be found. These being assembled together, took the following oath before their employers.

Vol. iv. Page 203.—"I swear to pursue unto death, all *royalists*, *fanatics* (Christians*), *gentlemen* (the French word is *muscadin*, which means a *gentleman*, or *well-dressed man*), and *moderates* (moderate people), under whatever colour, mask, or form, they may appear.

"I swear to spare neither *parents* nor *relations*; to sacrifice my personal interests, and even friendship itself; and to acknowledge for parents, brothers, and friends, nobody but the patriots, the ardent defenders of the republic."

Pity with me, reader, the poor unhappy people that were to become the prey of a set of blood-hounds like these. Pity the aged parents, and the helpless babes, that were to bleed beneath their merciless sabres. If you are not endowed with uncommon fortitude, I could almost advise you to advance no further; fifty times has the pen dropped from my trembling hand: Oh! how I pity the historian that is to hand these bloody deeds down to our shuddering and indignant posterity.

Vol. i. Page 66.—*Tronjolly*, a witness, informs the tribunal, that the Company of Marat was at first composed of sixty persons; that Goulin openly proposed that none but the most infamous villains should be admitted into it; and, at each nomination,

* *Fanatic* is the name now given to all who remain attached to the Christian religion.

cried out, "Is there no greater scoundrel to be found?"

On the 24th of October, says the witness, I heard Goulin and his colleagues say, that they were going to give a great example; that the prisoners should be all shot. I attest that this scene was still more horrible than that of the 22d and 23d of September. The Company of Marat were carousing round a table, and at the same time it was deliberated whether the prisoners should not be massacred by hundreds. In this deliberation, Goulin was for indiscriminate death: and thus were the prisoners, without ever being interrogated or heard, condemned to die. There existed no proofs of guilt against these unfortunate prisoners; they were what were called *suspected persons*: the felons, and all *real* criminals, were set at liberty.

Carrier, in quality of a member of the Convention, had placed a vile wretch at Painbœuf, named Foucault, to whom he gave an absolute power of life and death.

Vol. i. Page 68—Old men, women with child, and children, were drowned without distinction. They were put on board of lighters, which were railed round to keep the prisoners from jumping overboard if they should happen to disengage themselves. There were plugs made in the bottom, or sides, which being pulled out, the lighter sunk; and all in it were drowned. These expeditions were first carried on by night, but the sun soon beheld the murderous work. At first the prisoners were drowned in their clothes; this, however, appeared too merciful; to expose the two sexes naked before each other was a pleasure that the ruffians could not forego.

I must now, says the witness, speak of a new sort of cruelty. The young men and women were picked out from among the mass of sufferers, stripped naked, and tied together face to face. After being kept in
this

this situation about an hour, they were put into an open lighter; and after receiving several blows on the skull with the butt of a musket, thrown into the water. These were called *republican marriages*.

Vol. i. Page 72.—On the 26th of October, Carrier, the member of the Convention, ordered me (the witness was a judge of some sort) to guillotine indiscriminately all the Vendéans who came to give themselves up. I refused, but the Representative of the People promised that his prey should not escape him thus. In short, on the 29th, he had guillotined twenty-seven Vendéans, among whom were children of thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen years of age, and seven young women, the oldest of which was not above twenty-nine. On the same day twenty other persons were executed without trial.

Vol. i. Page 76.—Carrier, the bloodiest of the bloody, harangued his agents sword in hand; he ordered a woman to be shot at her window, merely because she looked at him; he chose from among the female prisoners, those whom he thought worthy of his foul embraces; and, after being satiated with their charms, sent them to the guillotine.

Observe well, reader, that this was a *member of the National Convention!—a Representative of the People! a Lawgiver!*

Vol. iv. Page 155.—I think it necessary to bring here a deposition or two from the third and fourth volumes of the trial, as they will show at once the pretended and real motives of the member of the Convention and his Committee.

Jomard, a witness, declares, that when the general was beat at Nantz, and the seizure of *suspected persons* began, nobody believed any thing of a conspiracy against the Republic. As a clear proof of this, adds *Jomard*, Richard, one of the agents of the Revolutionary Committee, wrote to his friend
Crespin,

Crespin, telling him that he had left the *Compagny* of Marat without arms ; but that means were found out to arm the patriots and disarm the *suspected*.—The generale, adds Richard, is now beating ; but do not frighten yourself ; I will tell you the reason of this at your return.

Vol. iii. Page 58.—*Latour*, a witness, says, I was sick ; *Dulny*, who was my doctor, informed me that *Gaudet*, public accuser, had let him into an important secret ; which was, that *Carrier*, and the Revolutionary Committee, not knowing how to squeeze the rich, had fallen upon a plan to imprison them, while they seized on their effects. In order to have a pretext for doing this, said *Gaudet*, we shall give out that there exists a conspiracy against the Republic. I am to make the generale beat early in the morning. The *sans-culottes* *, informed beforehand, are to parade at their different posts ; the rich and the timid will, according to custom, remain in their houses ; to these houses the *sans-culottes* are to repair, pillage all they have, and convey them to prison.

Notwithstanding my illness, I had no inclination to be found at home ; I therefore begged the Doctor to give me notice when the affair was to take place, which he promised to do. In three days after, he informed me that the generale would beat the next morning. In spite of my sickness, I went to my post. We were all the day under arms, and a great number of rich people were pillaged and imprisoned, some guillotined.

I attest, adds the witness, that there was not the least appearance of any conspiracy. All was a

* This degrading term, which is become the glory of modern patriots, literally means, *men without breeches* ; but it was ever used by the French to designate vile, rascally people, the dregs of society ; and as such we ought now to understand it.

dead calm; terror and consternation alone reigned in the city. More than three thousand victims to lust and avarice were this day lodged in loathsome dungeons, from whence they were never to be released, but to be led to slaughter.

I shall now insert an article or two that will give the reader an idea of the manner of proceeding of these fans-culottes.

Vol. iv. Page 157.—One of the members of the Revolutionary Committee, with a company of armed ruffians, went to the house of one Careil. They first examined all the papers, took 5000 livres in paper money, and 12 louis d'ors. They returned again in the evening, says the witness, who it seems was mistress of the house; we, at first, took them for common thieves, and *therefore our alarm was not so great*; but to our sorrow, we were soon convinced by the voice of Pinard, that they were the patriots of the Revolutionary Committee. Our family was composed of women and one old man. There were myself, four sisters-in-law, formerly nuns, two old relations above eighty years of age, and my husband. The house and yard were stripped of every thing, and the ruffians were talking of setting fire to the buildings. One of my sisters made shift to preserve 800 livres; she offered them these to save the house; they accept the conditions, receive the money, and then burn the house to the ground.

Our persons were now all that remained to be disposed of. There was a one-horse chair; but which was too good for any of us: it was fastened to the tail of a cart into which we were put (my husband, an old and infirm man, being obliged to walk in the rear), and thus were dragged, preceded by our plundered property, to that gang of cut-throats called the Revolutionary Committee. Here our complaints were in a moment stifled. Pinard said, that his or-

ders

ders were to burn all, and kill all. The Committee were astonished and offended at his clemency, and reprimanded him severely for not having murdered us according to his orders.

I, my sisters, and our poor old relations, were sent to one prison, and my husband to another. My husband died, and we are only left alive to weep and starve.

It is well worth the reader's while to hear what this Pinard said in his defence on this head.

Vol. iv. Page 162.—We acted, says he, by the order of the Representative of the People Carrier. When I went, at my return, to carry him the church-plate that I had taken from the nuns, he would insist upon my drinking out of the chalice (or sacramental cup), and asked me why I had not killed all the damned bitches.

I shall here observe once for all, that these volumes contain a series of robberies of this sort. Sometimes the plunder was divided among the plunderers, sometimes it was delivered to Carrier, and at others it was deposited with the Revolutionary Committee. These latter imposed immense taxes, or rather contributions, on the people, under pretence of assisting the sans-culottes, but which were applied to their own uses. It is just to observe also, that the tribunal at Paris, before which they were brought to answer for their crimes, appears to have shown much more anxiety about the gold and silver, than about the lives of the murdered persons.

Vol. v. Page 15.—*Mariotte*, a witness, informs the tribunal that he was detached on a party to seven miles distance from Nantz. The party, says the witness, went into the neighbourhood of the forest of Rincé, and took up their quarters in a house occupied by Mrs. Chauvette. Five days after our arrival, came Pinard, about midnight, and told us that we were in the house of an aristocrat. He bragged of
having

having that evening killed six women, and said that Chauvette should make the seventh. He threatened her, and, to add to her torment, told her to comfort herself, for that her child should die first. It is Pinard, adds he, that now speaks to you : Pinard, that carries on the war against the female sex. I drew my sword, continues the witness, and told Pinard that he should pass over my dead body to come at the woman.

Commerais, who was another of this party, informs the tribunal, that Pinard being thus stopped, Aubinet, one of his companions, said, Stand aside, while I cut open the guts of that bitch. He did not succeed, however, adds this witness. Now Marieuil came up, and swore he would have her life ; but finding us in his way, he said, You look like a good b—ger enough ; I have a word to say in your ear. We only want, says he, to know where she has hidden 60,000 livres belonging to a gentleman in the neighbourhood. I answered, Give me your word not to hurt the woman nor her child, and I will bring her forth. He promised, and I brought them out. The woman, seeing that she was conducted to a sort of cellar, cried out, I know I am brought here to be murdered, like the women whose throats were cut in this place yesterday. All the favour I ask, said she, is, that you will kill me before you kill my child. She was now questioned about the money ; but she continued her protestations of knowing nothing of it. Pinard and Aubinet prepared again to assassinate her ; but they did not succeed for this time.

Vol. v. Page 16.—The same witness relates another adventure. When we were going hence, says he, towards the forest of Rincé, we heard a man in a little wood, crying for help. We found Pinard and two other horsemen, each having a piece of linen under his arm. We left them, and soon after saw two poor peasants running away. In going along among the brushwood, says the witness, I heard something rustle

almost under my feet : I knocked the bushes aside with my musket :—what should it be but two children ? I gave one of them, who was seven years old, into the care of Cedré, and kept the other, of five years old, myself. They both cried bitterly. Their cries brought to us two women, their mothers, who were also hid among the bushes ; they threw themselves upon their knees, and besought us not to kill their children. In quitting the wood, Pinard came up with us : he had several women, whom I saw him chop down, and murder with his sabre. What, says he to me, are you going to do with those two children ? Stand away, says he, till I blow out their brains. I opposed him, and while we were in dispute, two volunteers brought an old man, stone-blind. This we now found was the grandfather of the children. Pray, said the poor old man, take my life, and preserve my little darlings. I told him that we would take care of them ; he wept, and squeezed my hand. This unfortunate old man, adds the witness, was murdered as well as the women.

Pinard quitted the high road in returning, for no other purpose but that of murdering. He and his companions killed all they came at, men, women, and children, of all ages. To justify his barbarity, he produced the decree that ordered him to spare neither sex nor age.

My reader will recollect that the National Convention of France had abolished *negro slavery* ; and he will also recollect, that the *humanity* of this measure has been much applauded by those who have not penetration enough to see their motives in so doing. 141

We shall now see what advantage this liberty procured to the unfortunate country-people round Nantz. This city, from its commercial relations with the West India islands, always contained a

number of blacks who came to wait on their masters, &c. As soon as the decree abolishing negro slavery appeared, these people claimed their rights as citizens; and, having no employment, they were taken into the service of the Republic, and placed under the orders of the Revolutionary Committee. A party of these citizens was sent to assist in the murders round the city, and we shall see that they were by no means wanting in obedience to their employers.

Vol. v. Page 90.—An officer, named Ormes, came, says a witness, to ask our assistance in favour of five pretty women, whom the Company of *Americans* (this was the word which had taken place of that of *negroes*, because the Convention had forbidden any one to call them *negroes*) had reserved for a purpose easily to be guessed at. A party marched off, and soon came to the house where the blacks had lodged the women. The poor creatures were crying and groaning; their shrieks were to be heard at half a mile distance. The party ordered the door to be opened, which was at last done. They then demanded the women; No, replied the blacks, they are now *our slaves*; we have earned them dear enough, and you shall tear them away limb by limb if you have them. We are told by these men, that, *thanks to the salutary decrees of the Convention*, the French empire contained *no slaves*. The brutality of the blacks would not permit them to listen to the voice of reason; they prepared for the *defence of their prey*, when the party, always guided by *prudence*, preferred retiring, to avoid slaughter.

Two days after, continues the witness, the *Americans*, satiated with their captives, left them. One of these women, the handsomest in the eyes of the blacks, had been obliged to endure the approaches of more than a hundred of them. She was fallen

into a kind of stupor, and was unable to walk or stand. The whole five were shot soon after.

I do not know which is most entitled to our detestation here, the brutal negroes, or the pusillanimous, rascally Frenchmen, who were the witnesses of their horrid deeds. *Prudence* taught these poltroons to retire, when they saw five of their lovely countrywomen exposed to the nauseous embraces of a set of filthy, merciless monsters! They saw them bathed in tears, heard their supplicating cries, were shocked at a sight, the very idea of which rouses all the feelings of manhood; but *Prudence* taught them to retire!—Savage villains! *Prudence* never taught you to retire from the drownings and cries of poor defenceless innocent priests, and women and children! It was not till the blacks prepared to *defend their prey*, that *Prudence* taught you to retire!

Some of the women, taken in the country, were suffered to die, or rather to be murdered, in a less shocking way.

Vol. v. Page 35.—Nantz, 5 *Ventose*, second year of the French Republic. Citizen Malé is hereby ordered to conduct the forty women, under his care, to the top of the cliff Pierre Moine, and there throw them head foremost into the sea.

(Signed) FOUCAULT.

We now come to the deposition of *George Thomas*, a health officer, who is one among the few, even of the witnesses, that appears to have preserved some remains of humanity. He tells such a tale of woe as I hope, and am persuaded, the reader's heart will with difficulty support.

Vol. ii. Page 147.—The revolutionary hospital, says the witness, was totally unprovided with every necessary. The jail fever made terrible ravages in all the houses of detention; seventy-five persons, or thereabout, died daily in this hospital. There was
nothing

nothing but rotten mattresses: on each of them more than fifty prisoners had breathed their last.

I went to Chaux, one of the Committee, to ask for relief for the unhappy wretches that remained here. We cannot do any thing, said Chaux; but if you will, you may contribute to the cause of *humanity* by a way that I will point out to you. That rascal Phillippes has 200,000 livres in his clutches, which we cannot come at. Now, if you will accuse him in form, and support your accusation by witnesses that I will engage to furnish you with, I will grant you, out of the sum, all that you want for the revolutionary hospital. At the very mention of *humanity* from Chaux I was astounded: the latter part of his proposal, however, brought me back to my man. I rejected it with the indignation that it merited.

I attest, that the Revolutionary Committee of Nantz esteemed and imprisoned almost all those who were esteemed rich, men of talents, virtue, and humanity.

I accuse this Committee of having ordered, to my knowledge, the shooting or drowning of between four and five hundred children, the oldest of which were not more than fourteen years of age.

Minguet, one of the Committee, had given me an order to choose two from among the children, whom I intended to save from death, and bring up. I chose one of eleven years old, and another of fourteen. The next day I went to the prison called the *Entrepot*, with several of my friends, whom I had prevailed on to ask for some of these children. When we came, we found the poor little creatures stood no longer in need of our interposition. They were all drowned. I attest, that I saw in this prison, but the evening before, more than four hundred.

Having received an order from the military commissioners to go to the *Entrepot*, to certify as to the pregnancy of a great number of women, I found, in the entering this horrible slaughter-house, a great quantity of dead bodies, thrown here and there. I saw several infants, some yet palpitating, and others drowned in tubs of human excrement. I hurried along through this scene of horror. My aspect frightened the women: they had been accustomed to see none but their butchers. I encouraged them; spoke to them the language of humanity. I found that thirty of them were with child; several of them seven or eight months. Some few days after I went again to see these unhappy creatures, whose situation rendered them objects of compassion and tenderness; but—(adds the witness with a faltering voice), shall I tell you, they had been most inhumanly murdered.

The further I advanced, continues the witness, the more was my heart appalled. There were eight hundred women, and as many children, confined in the *Entrepot* and in the *Mariliere*. There were neither beds, straw, nor necessary vessels. The prisoners were in want of every thing. Doctor Rollin and myself saw five children expire in less than four minutes. They received no kind of nourishment.—We asked the women in the neighbourhood, if they could not lend them some assistance. What would you have us do? said they; Grand-Maison arrests every one that attempts to succour them.

Vol. ii. Page 156.—The same witness says, I accuse the Committee in general of the murder of seven prisoners, whom, for want of time to examine them, they had hewn down with sabres under the window of their hall.

The witness adds, Carrier and the Committee, as well as their under-murderers, used to turn the drownings into jests: they called them *immersions*,
national

national baptisms, vertical transportations, bathings, &c. I entered, says he, one day, a public-house opposite the Bouffay, where I saw a waterman; named *Perdreau*. He asked me for a pinch of snuff: for, says the ruffian, I have richly earned it; I have just helped to dispatch seven or eight hundred. How, says I, do you manage to make away with them so fast? Nothing so easy, replied he; when I have a bathing-match, I strip them naked, two men with their bayonets push them, tied two and two, into my boat, whence they go fouse into the water, with a broken skull.

Vol. ii. Page 151.—Vaujois, a witness, says; I wrote ten times to the administrators of the district; and went often to the Revolutionary Committee, to request that something should be done for the poor children in prison; but could obtain nothing. At last I ventured to speak to Carrier, who replied, in a passion, You are a counter-revolutionist: no pity: they are young vipers, that must be destroyed. —If I had acted of myself, says the witness, I should have shared their fate.

One day, in entering the *Entrepot*, a citizen of Nantz saw a great heap of corpses: they were all of children; many were still palpitating and struggling with death. The man looked at them for some time, saw a child move its arm, he seized it, ran home with it, and had the good luck to save it from death, and its more terrible ministers.

Here *Thomas* is again questioned, and he attests, that the Revolutionary Committee issued an order, commanding all those who had taken children from the prisons, to carry them back again; and this, adds the witness, for the pure pleasure of having them murdered.

Vol. iv. Page 245.—Coffrant, a witness, deposes that it was proposed to shoot some of the prisoners *en*

masse *; but that the proposal was rejected. However, says he, as I was returning home one evening, I met Ramor, who told me that the shooting was at that moment going on. As I heard no noise, I could not believe him; but I was not suffered to remain long in doubt. A fellow came up to me, covered with blood: That is the way we knock them off, my boy, says he. Seven hundred had been shot that afternoon.

Vol. iv. Page 256.—Debourges, a witness, says, I have seen, during six days, nothing but drownings, guillotinings, and shootings. Being once on guard, I commanded a detachment that conducted the fourth *masse* of women to be shot at Gigan. When I arrived, I found the dead bodies of seventy-five women already stretched on the spot. They were quite naked. I was informed that they were girls from fifteen to eighteen years of age. When they had the misfortune not to fall dead after the shot, they were dispatched with sabres.

Vol. ii. Page 244.—Naud, one of the accused, says, I saw a red headed General, named Hector, at the head of a detachment, conducting prisoners to the meadow of the Mauves. Caffrie and I followed him. When we came, they were preparing to fire; but we made shift to save a few of the children.

Vol. i. Page 27.—Labenette, a witness, informs the tribunal, that the Revolutionary Committee ordered to be stuck on all the walls of the city, a decree, forbidding all fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, children, relations, or friends, to *solicit* the pardon of any prisoner whatever.

* The French expression is preserved here. It is to be hoped that it will never be adopted in the language of any other country. Its meaning is, *in multitudes*.

I was also witness of the drowning of ninety priests, two of whom, who were decrepit old men, by some accident or other, escaped, but were retaken and murdered. Indeed, adds this witness, I have been an eye-witness of several drownings of men, women with child, girls, boys, infants, indiscriminately. I have also seen some of all these descriptions shot in the public square, and at other places. The national guard of the city was employed during six weeks in filling up the ditches, into which the massacred persons were thrown. I was doctor to one of the prisons, and was like to be displaced, because I was too humane.

Vol. i. Page 60.—Carrier sent for the President of the Military Commission. It is you, then, says he, Mr. son of a bitch, that has dared to give orders contrary to mine. Mind; if you have not emptied the *Entrepot* in two hours, I will have your head, and the heads of all the Commission.—It is not necessary to add, that he was obeyed.

Vol. i. Page 103.—*Tronjolly*, a witness, says, that Chaux expressed his disapprobation of the law of the 14th of September. It is a great pity, said he, it ever was made; without that, we would have reduced the inhabitants of Nantz to a handful.—Carrier was consulted, adds this witness, with respect to receiving money to save the lives of the rich; but the merciful Representative of the People answered—No compositions; the guillotine; the guillotine; and take their money afterward.—Three women, too charming certainly, since they attracted the desires of the ferocious Carrier, had the misfortune to be chosen for the tiger's pleasures. He first sacrificed them to his brutal lust, and then sent them to augment the *masse* of a massacre.

Vol. ii. Page 175.—The widow *Dumey*, a witness, says, that she is the widow of the late keeper of the *Entrepot*; that she saw fifty priests brought there,
and

and robbed of all their money and effects; and that they were afterwards drowned, with some women and little children. She also adds, twenty-four men and four women were taken out one day. A child of fourteen years was tied with others to be drowned; his cries for his papa were enough to pierce the heart of a tiger; Lambertye tied him, however, and drowned him with the rest.

Fouquet, the companion of Lambertye, said on this occasion, that he had already helped to dispatch nine thousand, and that if they would but let him alone for twenty-four hours, he would sweep all the prisons of Nantz.

Vol. ii. Page 186.—*Lacaille*, keeper of another prison called the *Bouffay*, gives a circumstantial account of one of the drownings.

The horrid night, says the witness, of the 23d of October, two soldiers of the Company of Marat came to the *Bouffay*, each with a bundle of cords. About nine o'clock, they told me there were one hundred and fifty-five prisoners, whom they were to transfer to Belle-Isle, to work at a fortress. About an hour after arrived thirty or forty more of these soldiers. An order from the Committee was produced for the delivery of one hundred and fifty-five of my prisoners. I observed to them, that several of the prisoners on the list were now at liberty, or in the hospitals.

They now sat down to table, and, after having supped and drank heartily, they brought out their cords, and diverted themselves awhile in tying each other, as they intended to tie the prisoners. I then conducted them to the rooms where the prisoners were lodged. They instantly fall to work, tying the poor trembling wretches two and two.

Grand-Maison now entered the court-yard, and hollowed out to them to dispatch. Goulin came stamping and swearing, because the number on the
list

list could not be completed. There were so many sick and dead, that they could not well be made up. I sent you fifteen this evening, says Goulin; what have you done with them? I told him they were up stairs. Down with them, says he. I obeyed, and they were tied, like the rest. Instead of one hundred and fifty-five, Goulin at last consented to take one hundred and twenty-nine; but this number not being complete, the equitable and tender-hearted Goulin orders the remainder to be taken from the prisoners indiscriminately; and when this was done, he marches off at the head of the assassins to conduct them to the river, where they were all drowned.

Vol. ii. Page 204.—The widow *Mallet*, who had first been robbed of her property, and then imprisoned, gives an account of the manner in which she and her companions in captivity were treated.

I complained, says this poor woman, to *Perrocheaux* of a violent sore throat. That is good, said he; the guillotine will cure you of that.

One day *Jolly* asked if I was not the widow *Mallet*, and giving me a look, that makes me tremble even now, Aye, says he, she shall drink out of the great cup.

In the house where we were confined, there was a great number of beautiful pictures. Some men were sent one day by the Committee to tear them to pieces, which they did, leaving only one which represented *Death*, and jeering with savage irony, Contemplate that image, said they, to cheer your hearts.

We were in want of every necessary. Seven hundred of us were confined in this house, which, even as a prison, was too small for two hundred. Forty were crammed into one little chamber. During six or seven months we had no infirmary, or rather, each apartment was one. The sick and
dead

dead were often extended on the floor among the living. How many have I seen struggling in the pangs of death by my side!

Grand-Maison told me one day of an old quarrel: Times are altered, says he; now I have you under my clutches.

Durassier came one day drunk, and began to make out a list for execution. His oaths and imprecations made us tremble; I was on the fatal list, and I know not how I have escaped.

My old servant went to solicit for my removal, representing me as dangerously ill. Perrocheaux said to her, Let her die, you silly bitch, and then we shall have her house, and you will fare better with us than with her.

Vol. ii. Page 215.—*Brejet*, a witness, says, There were some women going to be shot; one of them had a child of eleven months old at her breast, which the assassins would have shot with its mother, had not a foldier snatched it from her arms. The babe was carried by a woman to Gourlay, a surgeon, who had the compassion to take care of it.

Vol. ii. Page 217.—*Fournies*, a witness, says, that there were at one time, to his knowledge, ninety-six priests drowned in the Loire. Adds he, four of them got on board a Dutch sloop lying in the river; but were retaken and drowned the next day. Foucault, in boasting of the second drowning of these priests, showed, in the company where I was, a pair of shoes he then wore, which he had taken from the feet of one of them.

Vol. ii. Page 220.—*Jane Lallies*, a young woman, confined on the general accusation of being an aristocrat, informs the tribunal, that she was made cook in the prison. One night, says she, a number of the Company of Marat came to the prison. One Girardeau conducted the troop. Come, my lads, says he, I must go and see my birds in
the

the cage. Ducon, seeing some of the prisoners weep, What the devil do you howl for? says he: we want provisions here, and we are going to send you off to get us some, that is all.

Crespin said to me, in giving me several blows with his naked sword, March, bitch, light us along: we are masters now: your turn will soon come, when there is no better game.

Come, come, my little fingering birds, said Jolly; out of your nests, and make up your packets, and above all do not forget your pocket-books; that is the main point; no cheating the nation. Ducon said aside to Duraffier, Are not they finely bit? Finding they did not prepare themselves quick enough, he adds, Come, come, time to dress them, time to shoot them, time to knock their brains out—I think that is plenty of time for them.

Duraffier kept bawling out, Quick, b—gers, march. To a sick man, who walked with a stick, he said, You want no stick; march like the rest, b—gers; you shall soon have a stick with a devil to you.

Ducon, as he went away, said to the keeper, Good by for this time; we shall come again soon to ease you of the rest: I think we have a pretty smart haul for once.—These poor souls were all drowned.

Vol. ii. Page 222.—Mrs. Pichot, living by the water-side at Nantz, says, that she saw the carpenters busy constructing the lighters for drowning the prisoners; and soon after, says the witness, I saw brought to be drowned at the Crepuscule, a great number of women, many of whom had sucking children in their arms. They screamed and cried most piteously. Oh! said they, must we be put to death without being heard?

Several poor women of the neighbourhood ran and took a child apiece, and some two, from them.

Upon

Upon this the poor creatures shrieked and tore their hair worse than before.—Oh! my dear, my love, my darling babe! am I never to see your dear face again? Heavens protect my poor dear little love!—Such heart-piercing cries were surely never before heard! yet these could not soften the hell-hounds that conducted them.

Many of these women were far advanced with child. ~All were taken into the boats; a part were immediately dispatched, and the rest put on board the Dutch sloop till the next day.

When the next day arrived, says the witness, though we were all terror-struck, many had the courage to ask for a child apiece of those that were left alive: but the hard-hearted villain Fouquet refused, pretending his orders were changed; and all that remained on board the sloop were drowned.

Vol. ii. Page 223.—The same witness says, One day I saw several prisoners, brought from the *Entre-pôt*, deposited in a lighter with a neck. They were fastened under hatches, where they were left for forty-eight hours. When the hatches were opened, there were sixty of them stifled. Other prisoners that were now on board were obliged to take out the bodies. Robin stood on the deck, with his drawn sword in his hand, and superintended the work. This done, all the prisoners on board were stripped naked, men, women, and children of all ages, from fourscore to five; their hands were tied behind them, and they were thrown into the river.

Here the Judge, if we ought to call a *sans-culotte* ruffian a Judge, asked the witness if this drowning was performed by day or by night. By open day, answers the witness. She adds, I observed that the drowners became very familiar with the prettiest of the women; and some few of them were saved, if it can be called saving, to endure the more than infernal embraces of these monsters.

Vol.

Vol. ii. Page 227.—*Delamarre* informs the tribunal, that there was a heap formed of the bodies of the women who had been shot, and that the soldiers, laughing, called this horrible spectacle the *mountain*, alluding to the Mountain of the National Convention.

Vol. ii. Page 231.—*Foucault* having said one day to *Bachelier*, that he had two cargoes to dispatch that night, *Bachelier* flings his arms round his neck, saying, You are a brave fellow, the best revolutionist I know among them all.

This same *Foucault* fired at his father with a pistol; and was looked upon as the inventor of the plugged lighters for drowning the prisoners.

Delassal, who appears to have been an officer of police, tells the tribunal, that one day he had taken up a woman of bad fame, who lived with *Lambertye*, one of the chief drowners. He came to my house, says the witness, in a rage, abused my wife, and casting a ferocious look at my children, Poor little b—gers, says he, I pity you; to-morrow you will be fatherless.

Vol. ii. Page 252.—*Coron*, one of the Company of Marat, informs the tribunal, that he had seven thousand five hundred persons shot at the Gigan, and four thousand he had assisted to drown.

Vol. ii. Page 254.—*Sophy Bretonville*, a witness, attests, that *Perrocheaux* came several times to her father's, under pretence of speaking to her mother about the release of her husband; but that his real business was to make indecent offers to herself. In short, says the witness, he made me an offer to release my father, if I would satisfy his lustful desires; but, as I refused, Very well, said he at last, I shall go and do his business for him in an instant.

Vol. ii. Page 258.—A house was wanted for some purpose by the Committee. *Chaux* was told that there was one in the neighbourhood; but that it

was

was occupied by the owner. A pretty story, says he; in with the b—ger into prison, and he will be glad to purchase his life at the expense of his house.

When the horrible situation of the prisoners was represented to the Committee, Goulin and Chaux replied, So much the better; let them die, it will be so much clear gain to the nation.

Vol. ii. Page 284.—*Jane Lavigne* informs the tribunal; that one night Carrier came with Phillippe to sup at her house. They were talking, says the witness, of the measures to be pursued. You are a parcel of whining b—gers of judges, said Carrier: you want proofs to guillotine a man; into the river with the b—gers, says the Representative of the People, into the river with them; that is the shortest way.

Vol. iii. Page 12.—*Mary Herau* informs the tribunal, that she got admittance one day into a prison where there were a great many women confined; several hundreds. I saw one amongst them, adds the witness, that was taken in labour: she was crawling with vermin; her lips were blue; death had already seized her. To bear the stench of this infected abode, I was obliged to have the smelling-bottle continually at my nose.

In consequence of the permission granted me to choose a child out of this prison, I went to a room where there were three hundred, or thereabouts, all of whom appeared dying or dead. I stopped at the door (for the stink was such that I durst advance no further), and called the children to me. Some of the little innocents raised their hands, and others their heads: but only six were able to get to me. I took one of them, and was also allowed to take a poor woman, whose situation and piteous moans moved me to the soul. I gave them an asylum at my house till the issuing of the inhuman decree, which obliged me to return them into the clutches of the tiger. When this decree came out, I applied to the wife of Gallon, one of the Committee, begging
her

her to intercede with her husband for the preservation of the woman and child I had taken: I will do no such thing, said she; and if you will be advised by a friend, you will not trouble your head about them. They were re-imprisoned, and I never heard of them more.

Vol. iii. Page 14.—*Mrs. Laillet* informs the tribunal, that six young ladies, of the name of Lamertere, were sent to the Bouffay. Carrier, says she, sent an order to put them instantly to death. The keeper of the prison commissioned me to communicate to them the fatal tidings. I called them into a room apart, and told them that the Representative of the People had ordered their execution.

The youngest of them gave me this ring (here she showed the ring): they threw themselves on their knees, and called on the name of Jesus Christ. From this posture the ruffians roused to conduct them to the place of death. They were executed, without ever being tried. While they were dispatching, twenty-seven men awaited the fatal stroke at the foot of the guillotine.

It is said, to the *honour* of the executioner, that his remorse for having executed these young ladies was so great, that he died in a few days afterwards.

I attest, adds this witness, that I have seen numbers of naked bodies of women lying by the side of the Loire, thrown up by the tide. I have seen heaps of human bodies gnawed, and partly devoured by the dogs and birds of prey; which latter were continually hovering over the city, and particularly near the water-side. I have seen numbers of carcases in the bottoms of the lighters, partly covered with water.

Vol. iii. Page 23.—*Rénaudot* informs the tribunal, that he saw a number of men conducted to the meadow called the Mauves, and shot. Some

of them who were not killed by the fusils, says the witness, were dispatched with the sabre. A cannoneer, named Jacob, came up to me, and said that it was he who had finished those who escaped the balls. Their necks, says this butcher, were just the thing to try my new sabre.

Vol. iii. Page 24.—I accuse, says the same witness, the Committee, of the murder of three nuns with my children's maid. They were conducted by Jolly to the Committee to take the oath of apostasy. Shoot no more, drown no more, said the nuns, and we will even take this horrid oath. This amounted to a refusal, and the consequences are too well known.

Vol. iii. Page 25.—*Captain Leroux* attests, that the murder of the ninety priests was a most wanton act of cruelty, contrary to the professions of the Committee itself; for that they were *only* to be sent, it was said, into perpetual exile. He says he was ordered before the Committee, and threatened with imprisonment for having permitted two of them to get on board his vessel.

Captain Boulet, one day, in weighing his anchor, saw four or five dead bodies raised by the cable; and adds, that there were one hundred and thirty women confined at Mirabeau, who disappeared all at once.

Vol. iii. Page 27.—*Foucault*, one of the accused, being asked by the Judge, what was become of the pillage of the priests (for, as I have already observed, this seemed to be the chief object of the trial), *Foucault* replied, that, having consulted *Carrier* on the subject, he answered, B—ger! who should have it but those that did the work? *Foucault* declares, that the effects of the priests were lodged on board the covered lighter, whence the priests had been precipitated into the water; and on board of which *Lambertye*, the chief in this expedition, gave a great dinner

dinner the next day, costing forty thousand livres. From other witnesses, it appears that Carrier assisted at this repast, and that he even proposed dining on the scaffold of the guillotine.

The following traits are well calculated to show what sort of treatment a people must ever expect from the hands of base-born villains, when they are suffered to seize the reins of power.

Vol. iii. Page 11.—I had a son and daughter, says a witness named *Pusterle*; Goulin had proposed a marriage between his son and my daughter, and Goulin another between his daughter and my son. Neither had my consent; and to avenge themselves, when they were in the Committee, they seized my wife and daughter, and all my most valuable property. The former were dragged to a loathsome prison; the latter I have never since seen or heard of.

Vol. iii. Page 17.—A friend of Goulin had, as he pretended, been brought to punishment by the family of the two young Toinettes. When they were brought before the Committee, he told them of this. But, said they, it could not be us. Goulin, like the wolf in the fable, cried out, If it was not you, it was your father. The two Toinettes were executed.

Vol. iii. Page 33.—My son-in-law, says a witness, named Vallé, had been confined for no other specified crime than that of being a *well-dressed man* (*muscadin*). I went to Carrier and to the Committee to solicit his release, before the order was issued forbidding all solicitations. There seemed to be some hopes of succeeding; but Chaux opposed my request, and he alone. It was he who had ordered him to be imprisoned, to be revenged on us, because we refused to sell him a quantity of starch that he had a mind to.

Vol. iii. Page 38.—I was at a drowning, says

Tabouret, on board a lighter conducted by *Affilé*. Come on, my lads, said he, to the island of *Topsy-turvy*. Before we got out to the sinking-place, I heard the prisoners make the most terrible lamentations. Save us! oh! save us! cried they; there is yet time! Oh! pray, pray, save us! Some of their hands were untied, and they run them through the railing, crying, Mercy! mercy! It was then that I saw the villain *Grand-Maison* chop off their hands and arms with his sabre. Ten minutes after, I heard the carpenters, placed in the little boats, hammering at the sides of the lighter; and, directly, down it went to the bottom.

Vol. iii. Page 90.—Trappe. When the fifty-five priests were drowned, I went to Carrier to ask him what should be done with their money, gold, and silver snuff-boxes, rings, &c. Leave them nothing, says he. Embark these b—gers, and let me hear no more of them, says the Representative of the People.

These priests, says the witness, had a great number of valuable jewels, which were all delivered to Richard. Carrier, upon hearing that the expedition was over, seemed angry; Blast it, says he, I intended to reserve that job for Lambertye.

The widow *Duney* corroborates the evidence of Trappe, and adds, After the priests were drowned, Lambertye came to me, and pointing his sabre to my breast, Bitch, says he, you shall give me an account of the spoils of those priests.—I attest, says this witness, that Lambertye and Fouquet were the favourites of the Representative of the People.

Vol. iii. Page 43.—Naudiller. I was one day at Carrier's with Lambertye and several others. Carrier, in pointing to the river, said, We have already ducked two thousand eight hundred of them there. One of the strangers asking what he meant, Yes, says

says Carrier, two thousand eight hundred in the *national bath*.

I myself saw, says the witness, while I was at Nantz, which was not long, five hundred men, and two hundred and fifty women, all tied, conducted to the Loire by Lambertye and Fouquet.

Vol. iii. Page 50.—One time, says *Affilé* (he was one of the drowners), Fouquet ordered me to go to Marie, to bespeak the two lighters that were wanted for the night, and to engage some carpenters. This done, I went and got the cords and the staples to fasten the prisoners at the bottom of the lighter. About nine o'clock, nearly five hundred were put on board. These were pillaged and stripped in the lighter, and Fouquet swore, if I did not obey his requisitions, which were always made in the *name of the law*, he would drown me with the rest.

Four little boats, continues *Affilé*, attended each lighter. When the plugs were pulled out, the prisoners cried, Mercy! There were some on the half-deck with their hands tied only; and these, when they saw the lighter sinking, cried, Let us jump into their boats, and drown them with ourselves. But all that attempted it were hacked down with sabres.

When the expedition was completed, we went to Thomas's hotel, where the effects of the prisoners had been carried; hence we went to Secher's, where we divided the spoil.

The prisoners on their trial, having denied here, that they had given orders for the drownings, several of their orders were produced and read. It may not be amiss to insert two or three of them. They will give the reader a perfect idea of the murderers' style.

In the name of the Republic. The Revolutionary Committee authorize Citizen *Affilé*, junior, to require the number of carpenters that he may find necessary for the execution of the expedition he is charged

BLOODY BUOY.

with. This Citizen is required to use all the dispatch in his power, and to give *generous* wages to the workmen, provided they work with all the *zeal* and activity that the *public service* requires.

(Signed)

GOULIN,
BACHELIER,
and others.

In the name of the Republic. The Revolutionary Committee authorize Citizen Golas to take as many lighters and small boats as he shall judge necessary for the execution of the *business* that the Committee has intrusted to his *zealous* care.

(Signed)

NAUD,
BOLOGNIE,
GOULIN,
and others.

In the name of the Republic. Citizen Affilé, junior, is required to pay attention to, and see executed, the order given to Citizen Golas : and all watermen and others are required *to aid and assist* in the *public service*, and to obey the requisition of Citizen Affilé, under pain of being declared *bad citizens* and *suspected persons*.

(Signed)

GRAND-MAISON,
NAUD,
and others.

Vol. iii. Page 63.—Bourdin, a witness, gives an account of several shootings. The last that I saw, adds he, was of eighty women. They were first shot, then stripped, and left exposed on the spot during three days.

I carried a young lad off from the *Entrepot*. He was thirteen years of age. When the Revolutionary Committee ordered all the children, thus preserved, to be given up, Jolly, who said he was the judge of all the prisoners, permitted me to keep this boy ; but my neighbour Aignes, who could not obtain a like favour, gave up a lad of fourteen years of age,
agreeably

agreeably to the order of the Committee, and the next day we saw him shot.

When the shooting *en masse* first began, the prisoners were suffered to retain their clothes till they were dead. As they were conducted to the place of execution, and even after they arrived on the spot, the old clothes dealers were seen bargaining with the soldiers for their clothes. The poor unfortunate creatures had the mortification to see their own townsmen and women buying the poor remains of their fortunes on their backs; and the instant they fell, the monsters rushed in, tearing the new-acquired property from their bodies, yet struggling in the pangs of death. But the revolutionary butchers found that this was but an unproductive sale: the clothes being shot through, sunk their value; and this circumstance determined them to strip the prisoners naked before execution.

Vol. iii. Page 66.—Lambert, another witness, informs the tribunal, that he has seen the banks of the Loire covered with dead bodies; among which were several of old men, little children of both sexes, and an infinite number of women, all naked. One of the women, that I saw at one time, had an infant locked in her arms. She had been drowned at the Crepuscule the day before with about two hundred more.

Vol. iii. Page 96.—A witness deposes that she saw Lebrun, one of the Company of Marat, jump and dance upon the dead body of a child.

Vol. iii. Page 99.—Lamarie. I was one morning at breakfast with Crucy, Leveque, and Perrocheaux, when the latter told me, they were just going to take a young girl out of prison to put her in keeping for their own use.

I was one day, says the witness, at the Committee, to ask the release of some children, and I could not help being shocked at the jocular manner in which they proceeded and talked. Chaux said to

me, Here we are, you see, up to our eyes among the dead bodies and pretty girls.

The criminals being asked what they had to say concerning their having issued certain cruel decrees, answered, that they were *fathers of families*; and that if they had disobeyed Carrier, they feared he might not only destroy them, but their wives and children also.

Now, then, let us see how these affectionate, tender-hearted fathers of families behaved towards the wives and children of others.

Vol. iii. Page 67.—As they had denied having issued the cruel orders for imprisoning the children, the following decrees were produced.

The Revolutionary Committee orders the *benevolent* commissaries of the 17th section, as well as all others who have prisoners in their houses of detention, to deliver to nobody any child whatever, except it may be to the officers of the ships of the Republic, and even they are to take *none under* seventeen years of age.

(Signed)

GOULIN,
and others.

The citizen keeper of the *Entrepot* is ordered to give in a list of all those, who, in obedience to the order of the Committee, have delivered up the children they had taken from the prison.

(Signed)

CHAUX,
and others.

Citizen Dumey is ordered to give in a list of all the persons, with the streets and numbers of the houses where they live, who have taken away any of the prisoners. He will be particular in the dwelling of the women, who, in spite of the decrees of the Committee, have had the *infamy* to take away seven young girls of fifteen or sixteen years of age.

(Signed)

GRAND-MAISON,
and others.

When

When the blood-thirsty villains had thus collected all the unhappy prisoners together, they issued the following order.

In the name of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantz. The commandant of the troops is required to furnish three hundred regulars. One half of this detachment will march to the Bouffay, and taking the prisoners thence, will conduct them, bound two and two, to the prison of the Eperonnière. The other division will go to Saintes-Caires, and conduct the prisoners from thence to the Eperonnière. Then all these prisoners, together with those confined in the prison of the Eperonnière, are to be taken and shot, *without distinction of age or sex*, in the manner that the commanding officer of the detachment may judge most convenient.

(Signed)

GRAND-MAISON,
GOULIN,
MINGUET,
and others.

In this place, it may not be amiss to let the reader hear what these monsters had to say in their defence.

Vol. iii. Page 35.—Goulin. They keep telling us of our terrific measures: I maintain that we made nobody tremble but the *misers*, the *rich*, the *hoarders of provisions*, the *fanatics*, and the *aristocrats*; but as for the true *fans-culottes*, they had nothing to fear.

Bachelier (Vol. iii. Page 31). *All the rich were suspected persons.* We were obliged to strike, not only them who *did*, but them who *could do* harm. However, very few patriots were sacrificed; we aimed principally at the former nobility and clergy; at those who hoarded up provisions, and all such as possessed great riches. The true and real *fans-culottes* were spared.

*Vol. iii. Page 99.—*One day, says a witness, I begged Bachelier to have mercy on the little children.
I pleaded

I pleaded their innocence, and represented their infancy, and the injustice of punishing them for the faults of their parents. Bachelier answered coolly, If I did not know you, I should take you for an aristocrat. You do not perceive then, that these children have sucked aristocratic milk; that the blood that runs in their veins is impure, and incapable of being changed into republican blood? I compare them, added he, to an oil-barrel, which, in spite of all the washing and scrubbing you can give it, will for ever retain its stink. It is just so with these children. They will always retain an attachment to the kings and priests of their fathers.

Vol. iii. Page 104.—*Bachelier* answers to this. With respect, says he, to the children of the aristocrats, I own that I said, they were hard to be made good republicans; and that it was much to be feared that the children of fanatics would *one day* resemble their parents. Renard, mayor of Nantz, who is known for a sound patriot and a *humane man*, said on this subject, that the *cats* eat the *young rats*, and that they were in the right of it; for it was the only way of destroying the breed. I am persuaded, adds Bachelier, that no true republican will blame me for saying and thinking like Renard, who was a most excellent patriot.

There was, it seems, another reason for murdering the aristocrats; for when the proposal was made for killing them *en masse*, Robin said (vol. iii. page 85). The patriots are *in want of bread*; it is just that those scoundrels should perish, and not *eat up our viſuals from us*. Kerman opposed this; but Robin exclaimed, None of your *moderate* propositions here. I say, they are a parcel of aristocrats that wish to overturn the republic, therefore let them die.

Vol. iii. Page 106.—*Crespin*, one of the Company of Marat, informs the tribunal, that he was at a drowning on board the lighter, where the prisoners

ers were fastened down under boards, nailed from side to side. They uttered, says he, the most piteous cries. Some of them put their hands folded in a supplicating posture through the openings between the boards; and I saw the members of the Committee chop off those hands and fingers. One of them plunged his sabre down in among the prisoners, and we heard a man cry out, Oh! the rascal! he has stabbed me! Our ears, adds the witness, were now stunned with the cry of, Oh! you rascally brutal savages! this is the mercy, this is the humanity of republicans!

One day, continues this witness, he saw Carrier in a coach at the foot of the guillotine, enjoying the spectacle, while about twenty persons were beheaded. Naud was with me, who went up to Carrier with me, and asked him, if he did not want a Marat. Yes, b—ger, says Carrier. I am your man, then, said Naud.

The new Marat was dispatched to call the *Judges* to the Representative of the People; and when Philippes ventured to tell him, that, among those whom he had ordered to the guillotine from the Bouffay, there were two children of fourteen years of age, and two others of thirteen, Carrier fell into a violent passion: Damned b—gers, says he, in what country am I got? *All milk-hearted rascals alike!*

The following traits will prove that a ferocious cruelty had taken possession of the hearts of the young as well as the old.

Vol. iii. Page 65.—Lalloue, says Naud, offered himself as an express to fetch back the one hundred and thirty-two persons that were sent off to Paris. This he said he would do for the pleasure of seeing them drowned.

This Lalloue, continues the witness, was a *Judge*, and the companion of the Representative of the People, although but *nineteen* years of age. He had
been

been convicted of *theft*, and boasted of being one of the murderers of the prisoners at Paris, in the month of September, 1792. Ah! says he, one day, to one of his companions on the bench, you should have seen us at Paris in the month of September. There you would have learned how to knock them off.

Vol. iii. Page 111.—Lecocq. I saw several men and women chopped down on board a Dutch sloop that lay in the river. I saw a young lad assisting to drown the prisoners at the last drowning; particularly one whom he unmercifully seized by the leg, dragged to the side of the lighter, and kicked overboard.

Vol. iii. Page 126.—Laillet informs the tribunal, that she saw a lad of about seventeen or eighteen years of age hew down two prisoners, and hack them with his sabre, at the prison of the Bouffay. They were afterwards, adds the witness, dragged to the water-side.

Vol. iii. Page 111.—Fontborne informs the tribunal, that, at the request of Delille, he went to the *Entrepot* to endeavour to save an innocent and amiable family of females, the youngest of which was about thirteen years of age. Delille went with me. When we came to the prison, we were conducted to a horrid stinking hole under a staircase. We asked for a candle, and after some time we got into this sort of dungeon. Here we found the mother and four daughters lying close to each other upon some wet and filthy straw; and round about them there were several dead women. The youngest daughter, whom alone we had obtained permission to take, was covered up in her mother's gown to keep her warm.—When we told the poor mother our errand; No, said she, my child shall stay and die with myself; we have lived, and we will die together. We thought ourselves justified, adds the witness, in
using

using force. When the mother perceived our resolution, she uttered such dreadful lamentations as are impossible to be described. My child! oh! my dear, darling child! were the last words her daughter ever heard from her. The child never recovered the stroke; she pined away about eight months, and then died.

Vol. iii. Page 113.—The same witness says, I saw a number of persons conducted from the Place of Equality, to be shot at the Mauves. There were women and children of all ages amongst them. My heart could not support this spectacle; I ran home, saddled my horse, and rode to the place of execution. When I arrived, the poor creatures were all on their knees, and the soldiers were preparing to fire. I rushed through them, and had the good fortune to save eight of the children, the oldest of which was twelve years of age; the rest were shot, with their fathers and mothers.

Vol. iii. Page 114.—*Laurency* informs the tribunal, that he saw, at one time, three hundred men conducted to the water. They were all naked, and had their hands tied behind them. I saw too, adds the witness, several women and girls murdered on board a barge in the river; two of whom, aged about eighteen years, I saw a young lad behead with his sabre, while he sung the *Carmagnole*.

Vol. iii. Page 119.—*Saudrac*. At a great dinner, to which *Lambertye*, the chief murderer, invited *Carrier*, I was a witness of a most scandalous scene. After the repast was over, and while the glass went round, *Lambertye* entertained us with a long and full account of a drowning he had performed the night before, and boasted of the manner in which he sabred the poor wretches that attempted to escape. All the *convives*, adds the witness, honoured his valour with long and repeated bursts of applause.

Carrier

Carrier toasted the *national bath*. This monster talked of nothing but death and the guillotine.

Another witness says (vol. iii. page 123), I saw Carrier, with his drawn sword in his hand, threatening to guillotine the first person who should dare to show the least pity for the prisoners that were conducted to execution.

And another (vol. ii.) says, Carrier came one day to look at the lighters that were constructing for the drownings, and turning to Foucault, Charmingly commodious indeed ! says he. Do you hear ? added he ; pay these lads well for their labour.

Vol. iii. Page 126.—An old man appeared at the bar. I attest, says he, that I was ill-treated by the Revolutionary Committee, because I requested the release of a young girl who was entirely innocent. The Committee told me that I had no business to meddle with any such people. My nephew and my son-in-law were shot for no crime whatever ; and, adds the old man, I had the grief to see my own children dragged from my house to the fatal lighters. One of them who made an attempt to escape from the hands of his barbarous executioners, was caught and shot.

I dare say the reader is ready to weep for this poor distressed father : but let him reserve his tears for more worthy objects. This old man was a murderer like the rest, and his own family had fallen into the pit he had dug for another. Yes, reader, this gray-headed, ferocious old tiger, who complains of the cruelties of others, ends his evidence by accusing Carrier, even Carrier, of having shown an act of mercy !—I accuse him (says the hoary assassin, page 26) of being *no patriot*, since he *did not execute* the wife of Temploire, whom I informed against as an emigrant.

Vol. iv. Page 148.—*Juget*, a Judge at Nantz, reads, from the register of his tribunal, an order of
Carrier

Carrier to send thirty-six men, twenty women, and four children, to be shot, without being heard or tried. This was accordingly done.

Vol. iv. Page 148.—*Poupon* deposes, that he was witness of a drowning, when the Company of Marat went and dragged sick persons from the hospital, in order to make up a lighter-full. Some of these persons, adds the witness, could scarcely crawl along, and I saw these murderers beat them most cruelly with great sticks, crying, Along with you, b—gers! march! march! we will give you sweet air enough now. Others they dragged along by the hair of the head, till they got them on board the lighter. At this time, says the witness, the conductors of the expedition kept hallooing out, Come, come, my lads, be quick! along with the b—gers! the tide falls apace: there is no time to be lost.

Vol. iv. Page 151.—*Seginel*, one of the Company of Marat, informs the tribunal, that Goulin and Chaux conducted some of the Company, one day, to the house of Carrier. When we came, says this under-cut-throat, into the presence of the Representative of the People, our conductors told him we were good lads, citizens on whom he might rely. So much the better, says Carrier, adding, Depend on it, my boys, if you do your duty like good b—gers, the Republic, which is never ungrateful, will pay you well.

While we were there, says the witness, Lambertye came, and went into another room with Carrier. Goulin asked Grand-Maison who that man was. He is a second Marat, replied the latter, and is now, without doubt, receiving orders to communicate to us.

Marat.—The name of Marat has been so often mentioned, it may not be improper, or out of place, to give the reader here some account of that famous, or rather infamous cut-throat.

Before the revolution, he was an obscure beggarly fellow, that was daily liable to be brought before the Officer of Police, to give an account of the manner in which he got his bread. But, when this grand event took place, when murderers were wanted in every quarter of the country, he began to cut a figure on the scene. He published a gazette, in which he inculcated the necessity of lopping off the heads of thousands at a time, and of watering, as he called it, the tree of liberty with the blood of the aristocrats, as the only means of rendering it fruitful.

These, and such-like sentiments, recommended him to the notice of his countrymen; he obtained their confidence, and was one of the *organizers* (to use a French term) of the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September, 1792, of which I have spoken in the first chapter of this work. On this occasion he was an actor also, and is said to have cut above fifty throats with his own hands.

It would have been something unjust if a man like this had been forgotten when the Convention was to assemble: he was not. The people of Paris, who had been eye-witnesses of his merit, chose him for one of their representatives; and he was faithful in the execution of his trust; for he never talked about any thing but of throats to cut, stabbing, and guillotining.

His career, however, was but short. His own neck was not made of iron: a desperate woman, who had adopted his principles, rushed into his apartment, and delivered the world of one of the greatest monsters that ever dishonoured it.

There was something horrible in the look of this villain. He was very short and thick, had a black beard ascending nearly to the extreme corners of his eyes. This beard was usually long, and his hair short, sticking up like bristles. He had ever been dirty, and it may be imagined that the fashions
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of a revolution, which has made it a crime to be well dressed, had not improved his appearance; in short, he was, at the very best, a most disgusting mortal, and, therefore, when he came out of the prison of La Force, all covered with filth and gore, wielding a pistol in one hand, and a dagger in the other, no wonder that even the sanguinary mob ran back for fear.

Charlotte Cordée.—As I have entered on a digression, I will continue it a little longer, to give the reader an account of the execution of Charlotte Cordée, the young woman that murdered Marat.

She was not what is commonly called an aristocrat; but a patriot of another faction than Marat. She was, as it is said, employed by the party of Brissot, who, from the accomplishments of Marat, were afraid that he would totally engross the favour and affections of the people. Poor Charlotte received her reward on the scaffold; and a very just reward too; but there is something so shocking in the behaviour of her executioner, that it ought not to be omitted in a collection of this kind.

She was a beautiful young woman, extremely fair, and, in any other country, would have brought tears of compassion from the spectators. The executioner, after having cut off her head, seized it by the fine long hair, and, holding it up by one hand, the brutal ruffian gave her a slap in the face with the other. The bitch blushes, cried he, at any rate. This trait of hangman wit excited the savage mirth of the populace*.

We must now return to Nantz, where we shall find the Revolutionary Committee employed in writing to their friends at Paris.

* It is something very remarkable, that her face, severed from the body, should blush; but it is a real fact, as appears from an essay lately republished at Philadelphia, in Gatreau's Gazette.

Before they began to drown and shoot by hundreds, they had seized on the persons of one hundred and thirty-two of the most opulent men in the city, and sent them off to Paris to be tried as suspected persons. It appears, from the whole course of the evidence on this head, that the detachment of patriots who conducted them, were, if any pretence could be found, to murder them all by the way. This, however, did not happen. The prisoners arrived safe at Paris, and the Committee were obliged to have recourse to other means to prevent their return. The one that they adopted was, to ensure their guillotining at Paris; and, for this purpose, they wrote to the Revolutionary Committee of the section of Lepelletier. Their letter is, and I hope it ever will be, a curiosity in this country. I shall give it a literal translation, that the reader may be able to do justice to the memory of the writers.

Vol. iv. Page 179.—Nantz, this 5th of Pluviose. Liberty, Equality, or Death. Citizens, The people of Nantz, whom we have sent to Paris, are big villains, all marked with the seal of reprobation, and known for counter-revolutionists. We are collecting proofs against them, which we shall send, when the bundle is made up, to the revolutionary judges. In the mean time, we *denounce* to you Julienne, who has *officially* taken upon him the defence of these *uncivic* vermin.

*Vol. iv. Page 280.—*From the moment the Revolutionary Committee was installed, says *Bénet*, the imprisonments began; and they augmented daily. They were all dictated by animosity, hatred, or avarice. To such a degree did terror prevail, that every man trembled for his life.

For my part, says the witness, my resolution was shaken. I always went with two loaded pistols in my pockets: one for the villain that should offer to seize

seize me, and the other for myself. Cruel expectation for a man who had a small helpless family ! But I had seen six hundred men at one time plunged into the water, and had been a witness of shootings amounting to three thousand six hundred persons at the Gigan : after this, what could any man hope for ?

There is reason to believe that Carrier meant to murder the whole city ; for, before his journey to Paris, he told one of the women whom he kept, and *whose husband he had put to death*, that he would make Nantz remember the name of Carrier : Do not fear, *my dear*, said he ; all my friends shall follow me ; but as for the city, it shall be destroyed. (Page 219.)

I was one day, adds the same witness, sent by Bowin to see some bodies buried, that were left on the public square. There were upwards of thirty women, all naked, and exposed with the most horrible indecency.

Vol. iv. Page 206.—Fontaine. I went one day to a prison where a great many women and children were confined. My business was to deliver provisions to these people ; but I found neither fire, lights, nor any thing else. I called for a candle, in order to enter this abode of horror. The prisoners were lying here and there on the bare boards, though it was extremely cold.

In a second visit that I made here, I found the poor unhappy creatures in a worse situation than before. I saw a woman lying dead, and a sucking child, at a little distance from her, wallowing about in the filth ; its little face was absolutely covered with ordure. I gave the keeper ten livres to take care of this helpless infant, till I could find a nurse ; but when I came for it, it was gone ; and Dumey told me, that the English prisoners had taken the child, with a promise to do well by it.

It seems, from the evidence of several witnesses, that, while these villains were butchering or stifling their own countrymen, they took care to treat foreign prisoners with some sort of humanity. This distinction fully proves, that they acted by authority of the Convention. But we shall see this incontrovertibly proved by and by, that the remark is hardly necessary here.

Vol. iv. Page 210.—I saw, says the same witness, a man, named Gorgo, come and ask for a little boy, that he said he had obtained permission to take. The child was found behind a bundle of stuff, where he had run to hide upon hearing voices. Gorgo brought him to the doorway, and made him *dance and sing*.

I have selected this last fact to show to what a pitch of obduracy, of unfeeling indifference, these people were arrived. A thousand volumes could not paint their familiarity with scenes of horror so well as this trifling circumstance of making a child dance and sing, at the entrance of a cavern of despair, a human slaughter-house, where perhaps his own parents were at that moment groaning their last.

Vol. iv. Page 210.—*Chaux*, one of the criminals, informs the tribunal, that he was dispatched from Nantz to wait on Carrier, during his stay at Paris. He told me, says Chaux, that he did not like Philippes, and that we should guillotine him, at my return.—I have communicated, says Carrier, all our proceedings to the National Convention.—You must not, adds he, try Lambertye; he is too *precious a patriot*. I intend to send for him here, and present him to the Committee of Public Preservation (*Salut Public*), who will not leave him uncompensated for his services.

Jacquieau says (page 273) that Lambertye was the chief murderer.—This it was that made him a *precious*

precious patriot, and a man worthy of a reward from a Committee of the National Convention.

This witness adds : When the Committee of Nantz was first installed, a deputation was sent to Carrier, to let him know that no proofs could be made out against Jomard. The Representative of the People, seeing the deputation enter, cried out, What are all these b—gers come here for ? When he heard our business, To hell with you, says he, you fool. But seeming to grow a little calm, he called me back into his room, and threatened to throw me out of the window. At last, says the witness, he told me there were other means besides guillotining ; You have only, says he, to send Jomard into the country, and have him dispatched secretly.

Here we behold a Member of the National Convention of France ; one of those philosophical legislators, who call themselves the enlighteners of the universe. This base, this cowardly cut-throat, this assassin-general, is one of those men, who we have been told are to regenerate mankind, and to establish a system of universal humanity !

The following traits will depict the leaders in the French revolution.

Vol. iv. Page 273.—Robin, says a witness, was one of the accomplices of Carrier. This Robin, one day, showed his sabre all stained with blood, saying, at the same time, With this I chopped off sixty of the heads of the aristocrats that we drowned last night.

Vol. ii. Page 209.—*Fontaine* informs the tribunal, that he was one night at the *Entrepot*. Here, says the witness, I saw a little man (this afterwards appears to have been Fouquet), wearing pantaloons and a liberty cap. It is I, said the little monster, who conduct all the drownings ; it is I who give the word of command to pull up the plugs ; nothing is done without my orders. If you will come along

with me, continued he, I will show you how to feed upon the flesh of an aristocrat; I will regale you with the brains of those rascals.—I trembled, says the witness, and got away from this cannibal as soon as I could.

Vol. iv. Page 276.—*Fontbonne* informs the tribunal, that he was one day invited to a dinner, in a pleasure-garden belonging to Ducrois. Carrier and O'Sullivan were of the party. The conversation turned on the bodily strength of certain persons, when O'Sullivan observed; "Yes, there was my brother, who was devilish strong, particularly in the neck, for the executioner was obliged to give him the second stroke with the *national razor*, before he could get his head off."

The witness adds, O'Sullivan told us, that he was going to drown a man much stronger than himself; that the man resisted, but was knocked down; then, says O'Sullivan, I took my knife and stuck him, as butchers do the sheep.

Guedon informs the tribunal (vol. iii. page 277), that he was at the same dinner mentioned by Fontbonne. I was seated, says this witness, by the side of O'Sullivan; and, during the repast, he held up his knife to me, and said, This is excellent to cut a man's throat with; adding, that it had already done him good service in that way. He called on Robin as a witness of his bravery, and told us the manner in which he proceeded.—I had remarked, says O'Sullivan, that the butchers killed their sheep by plunging the knife in underneath the ear; so, when I had a mind to kill a prisoner, I came up to him, and, clapping him on the shoulder in a jocular way, pointed to some object that he was obliged to turn his head to see; the moment he did this, I had my knife through his neck.

This O'Sullivan, in his defence, says, that, as to his brother, he was an enemy of the Republic.
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pocket full of these ears, which he made the female prisoners kiss.

Vol. ii. Page 267.—Many of the generals in La Vendée, says Forget, made it their glory to imitate the horrid butchers at Nantz. They committed unheard-of cruelties and indecencies. General Duquesnoy murdered several infants at the breast, and afterwards attempted to lie with the mothers.

This is the infernal monster that styled himself the butcher of the Convention, and that said, nothing hurt him so much as not being able to serve them in the capacity of executioner.

Vol. ii. Page 122.—I saw, says Girault, about three or four hundred persons drowned. There were women of all ages amongst them; some were big with child, and of these several were delivered in the very lighters, among water and mud. This most shocking circumstance, their groans, their heart-piercing shrieks, excited no compassion. They, with the fruit of their conjugal love, went to the bottom together.

Vol. ii. Page 153.—Coron. A woman going to be drowned, was taken in childbirth; she was in the act of delivery, when the horrid villains tore the child from her body, stuck it on the point of a bayonet, and thus carried it to the river.

A fourth of these, our representatives (says the author of *La Conjuration*, page 162), a fourth (great God! my heart dies within me), a fourth ripped open the wombs of the mothers, tore out the palpitating embryo, to deck the point of a pike of liberty and equality.

The reader's curiosity may, perhaps, lead him to wish to know the whole number of persons put to death at Nantz; but, in this, it would be difficult to gratify him. I have been able to obtain but *five* volumes of the trial, which make only a part of that work; probably the last volume may contain

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an exact account as to numbers. The deaths must, however, have been immense, since a witness deposes (vol. iii. page 55) to the drowning of *nine thousand* persons; and another witness (vol. ii. page 253) attests; that *seven thousand five hundred* were shot *en masse*.

The number of bodies thrown into the river Loire, which is half the width of the Delaware at Philadelphia, was so considerable, that the municipal officers found it necessary to issue a proclamation (vol. v. page 70), *forbidding the use of its waters*.

It has been generally computed that the number of persons, belonging to this unfortunate city and its environs, who were drowned, shot *en masse*, guillotined, and starved or starved in prison, amounted to about *forty thousand*. And this computation is corroborated by the author of *La Conjuration*, who says (page 159), The number of persons murdered in the South of France, during the space of a very few months, is reckoned at a hundred thousand. The bodies thrown into the Loire are innumerable. Carrier alone put to death *more than forty thousand*, including men, women, and children.

It appears then that these bloody revolutionists, who styled themselves the Friends of Freedom and of Mankind, destroyed, in one city of France, a population equal to that of the capital of the United States.

CHAP. IV.

Facts from several Works, proving that the Cruelties related in the preceding Chapters were authorized, or approved of, by the National Assemblies.

AFTER having led the reader through such rivers of blood, it seems indispensably necessary to insert

insert a few facts, showing by whose authority that blood was spilt; for it could answer no good purpose to excite this detestation, without directing it towards the proper object.

When the French first began that career of insurrection, robbery, and murder, which assumed the name of a Revolution, the people of this country, or at least the most numerous part of them, felt uncommon anxiety for its success. The people were deceived; but the deception was an agreeable one; the word *Revolution* had of itself very great charms, but when that of *Liberty* was added to it, it could not fail of exciting enthusiasm. This enthusiasm was, indeed, nearly general; and this alone was a sufficient inducement for the public prints to become the partisans of Condorcet and Mirabeau. All the avenues to truth were at once barred up; and, though the revolutionists every day changed their creed, though one revolving moon saw them make and break their oaths, all was amply atoned for by their being engaged in a revolution.

As the revolution advanced, the enthusiasm increased; but from the moment that the French nation declared itself a *republic*, this enthusiasm was changed to madness. All the means by which this change of government was to be accomplished were totally overlooked; nothing was talked or dreamed of but the enfranchisement of the world; the whole universe was to become a republic, or be annihilated; and happy was he who could bawl loudest about a certain something, called *liberty and equality*.

During this political madness, however, now and then a trait of shocking barbarity, in spite of all the endeavours of the public papers, burst in upon us, and produced a lucid interval; but these intervals have never yet been of long duration; because every subterfuge, that interested falsehood can devise, has been made use of to give our abhorrence a
direction

direction contrary to that which it ought to have taken. We have heard Brissot, Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, all accused in their turns of shedding innocent blood; but the *National Assembly* itself, they tell us, has ever remained worthy of our admiration. The poor unsuccessful agents of this terrible divan have been devoted to execration, as tyrants, while their employers have been, and are yet held up to us as the friends of liberty and the lovers of mankind.

Without further remark, I shall add such facts, as, I imagine, will enable every reader to judge for himself.

To begin with the Constituent Assembly; one proof of their approving of murder, will suffice. They honoured with the title of *vanquishers*, a blood-thirsty mob, who, after having taken two men prisoners, cruelly massacred them, and carried their heads about the streets of Paris on a pike. See *Rabaud's History of the French Revolution*, page 106.

The second Assembly, when they received advices of the murders of Jourdan and his associates at Avignon, as mentioned in the first chapter of this work, threatened the Member who communicated the news, because he had called the murderers *brigands*, and not *patriots*. See *La Gazette Universelle* for the month of May, 1792.—And how did this Assembly behave, when informed of the massacres in the prisons of Paris, during the first days of September, 1792? Tallien (of whom we have lately heard so much) came to the National Assembly, and informed them of the murdering in the following remarkable words: “The Committees have done all they could to prevent the disorders (the massacring the prisoners is what he calls *disorders*), but they have not been able to stop them, in some sort, *just vengeance* of the people.”—The Assembly heard this language very quietly; and Doctor Moore, from whose Journal

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(page 178) the fact is taken, makes an apology for the Assembly, by saying that they were *overawed*: but it has since fully appeared, that the leading members were the very persons who contrived the massacre, with the aid of Petion, Manuel, and Marat.—It is a well-known fact, recorded by the Abbé Barruel (page 334), that *Louvet*, one of the members of the present Assembly, gave, the day after the September massacre, an order on the public treasury, in the following words: “*On sight, pay to the four bearers each twelve livres, for aiding in the dispatching of the priests at the prison of St. Firmin.*”—*Louvet* was, at the time of writing this note on demand for murderers’ wages, a *legislator*; and I cannot help remarking here, that a printer of a newspaper in the United States has lately boasted, that this *Louvet*, “now President of the first Assembly on earth,” says our printer, was the *editor of a Gazette!*—People should be cautious how they boast of relationship with the legislators in that country of equality.

As it will no longer be pretended, I suppose, that this second Assembly disapproved of the murders that were committed under their reign, I will now turn to the third Assembly, which we commonly call a Convention. And, not to tire the reader with proofs of what is self-evident, I shall confine myself to an extract or two from the trial of Carrier and the Revolutionary Committee of Nantz.

Vol. v. Page 49.—It is time, says Goulin, to tear aside the veil. The Representatives Bourbotte and Bô knew all about the drownings and shootings; and Bô even said to Huchet, in speaking of the members of the Revolutionary Committee, that it was *not for the murders* that they were to be tried.

After this the Counsellor for the Committee asks this Citizen Bô, what was the real motive for bringing the Committee to trial; and the other confesses, that it was for their having *misapplied the treasures*
taken

taken from the prisoners. He pretends (page 60), though he had taken the place of Carrier at Nantz, and though the water of the river could not be drank, on account of the dead bodies that were floating on it; though a hundred or two of ditches had been dug to put the people into that were shot; and though the city was filled with cries and lamentations; notwithstanding all this, he pretends that he could say nothing for certain *about the murders*.

This representative Bô (page 83) is convicted of having himself justified the conduct of the Committee and of Carrier.

Carrier, in his defence, says, that he had done no more than *his duty*, and that *the Convention had been regularly informed of every thing*. They complain now, says he (page 119), of shootings *en masse*, as if *the same had not been done at Angers, Saumur, Laval, and every where else*.

A witness (vol. v. page 60) informs the tribunal, that he, who was himself a Member of the Convention, *had informed that body of horrors that were committed at Nantz, and particularly of the massacres of women and children*.

The author of *La Conjuration*, so often quoted, says (page 162), When the bloody Carrier wrote to the Convention that he was dispatching hundreds at a time by means of lighters with plugs in the bottom, Carrier was not blamed; on the contrary, he was *repeatedly applauded*, as being the author of *an invention that did honour to his country!*

But what need have we of these proofs? What other testimony do we want, than that contained in their own murderous decrees? Let any one cast his eye on the opposite page; let him there behold the scene that was daily exhibited before the windows of their hall, and then let him say whether they delighted in murder or not. Blood is their element, as water is that of the finny race.

One thing, however, remains to be accounted for;

for; and that is, how so great a part of the nation were led to butcher each other; how they were brought to that pitch of brutal sanguinary ferocity, which we have seen so amply displayed in the preceding chapters. This is what, with the reader's indulgence, I shall now, agreeably to my promise endeavour to explain.

AN

INSTRUCTIVE ESSAY,

Tracing all the Horrors of the French Revolution to their real Causes, the licentious Politics and infidel Philosophy of the present Age.

IT has been asserted, again and again, by the partisans of the French revolution, that all the crimes which have disgraced it, are to be ascribed to the hostile operations of their enemies. They have told us, that, had not the Austrians and Prussians been on their march to Paris, the prisoners would not have been massacred on the 2d and 3d of September, 1792. But can we possibly conceive how the murder of eight thousand poor prisoners, locked up and bound, could be necessary to the defence of a capital containing a million of inhabitants? Can we believe that the sabres of the assassins would not have been more effectually employed against the invaders, than against defenceless priests and women?

The deluded populace were told not "to leave the wolves in the fold while they went to attack those that were without." But these wolves, if they were such, were in prison; were under a guard an hundred thousand times as strong as themselves, and could have been destroyed at a moment's warning. There is something so abominably cowardly in

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this justification, that it is even more base than the crime. Suppose that a hundred thousand men had marched from Paris, to make head against the Austrians and Prussians, there were yet nine hundred thousand left to guard the unhappy wretches that were tied hand and foot. Where could be the necessity of massacring them? Where could be the necessity of hacking them to pieces, tearing out their bowels, and biting their hearts?

Subsequent events have fully proved, that it was not danger that produced these bloody measures; for we have ever seen the revolutionists most cruel in times of their greatest security. Their butcheries at Lyons and in its neighbourhood did not begin till they were completely triumphant. It was then, at the moment when they had no retaliation to fear, that they commenced their bloody work. Carrier, lolling at his ease, sent the victims to death by hundreds. The blood never flowed from the guillotine in such torrents, as at the very time when their armies were driving their enemies before them in every direction.

It has been said in the British House of Commons, that the massacres in France ought to be attributed to the Allied Powers. "You hunt them like wild beasts, and then you complain of them for being ferocious." How this hunting could drive the French to butcher one another, I cannot see; but if it was a justifiable reason for them, it might certainly be applied with much more justice to their enemies; for these have been oftener obliged to fly than the French. The revolutionary armies have overrun an extent of territory equal to one third of their own country: the Savoyards, the Germans, the Flemings, the Dutch, the Spaniards, and the English, have been obliged to fly before them; but we have heard of no massacres among these people. The French most unmercifully put
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to death eight thousand of their country-people, who were in the prisons of Paris, and, as an excuse for this, they tell us that the Duke of Brunswick had invaded the province of Champagne; but they themselves have overrun all the United Netherlands, and even taken possession of the capital; and we have not heard that the Dutch have, as yet, been guilty of a single massacre. They have found but one place in all their career, where the people could be prevailed on to erect a guillotine, and that was at Geneva. Here their army was more numerous than the whole population of the State, and therefore their system was fully adopted; yet, even here, among this little debased and tyrannized people, there were to be found no villains infamous enough to imitate their masters in murdering women and children. That was a species of slaughter reserved for the French nation alone.

The French revolution has been compared to that of America, and I have heard some men calling themselves Americans, who have not been ashamed to say, that as great cruelties were committed in this country as in that. I would now ask these men, who are so anxious to be thought as bloody as the sans-culotte French, if they can give me one instance of the Americans murdering their townsmen at the approach of the enemy? When the British army succeeded that of the Congress at Philadelphia, did the continental troops murder all the Tories before they quitted the city? Can these generous friends of the French revolution tell us of any massacres that took place in this country? Did they ever hear of women and children being drowned and shot by hundreds? Seven years of civil war desolated these States, but the blood of one single woman or child never stained the earth.

If the doctrine be admitted, if a people be justifiable in entering on a series of massacres the instant
they

they are pressed by an enemy from without, what safety can there be for any of us? If a declaration of war is to unsheath the daggers of all the assassins in the community, civil society is the greatest curse that ever fell upon mankind. Much better and safer were it for us to separate and prowl about like savages, nay like beasts, than to live thus, in continual trepidation, in continual fear for our throats.

There is something so exceedingly cowardly and ridiculous in this justification, that even the French revolutionists are ashamed of it. They have recourse to another still more dishonourable, it is true, but less cowardly. They tell us, that all the assassins in France have been in the pay of Great Britain; or, to make use of their own expression, have been excited to action by the "*gold of Pitt*."

As I wish to advance nothing without the best possible authority, I shall here insert a passage on this subject, taken from a Gazette published at Philadelphia by one *Gatreau*, and at the press of *Moreau de St. Mery*, who was a member of the Constituent Assembly of France.

The intention of the piece evidently is to justify the French character, or rather the character of the French revolutionists, by attributing the horrid deeds these latter have committed, to some cause other than their own dispositions and anarchical principles. To avoid all cavil with respect to the authenticity of the extract, and the correctness of the translation, I will first give it in French, and then in English, observing, for the farther satisfaction of the reader, that he may find the piece entire in the Gazette above mentioned, of the 4th of February, 1796.

" Quel homme éclairé par l'expérience, nieroit
 " aujourd'hui, que, de la tête de Pitt sont sortis
 " tous les crimes qui se soient abhorrer la revolu-
 " tion par ceux-la meme qui en adoroient les prin-
 " cipes :

" cipeç ; que, c'est au foyer de la jalousie et de la
 " haine Angloise, que s'allumèrent les torches, que
 " se forgèrent les poignards, qui ont fait un mon-
 " çeau de cendres et de sang des plus belles posses-
 " sion du monde ?—Quel génie malfaisant créa les
 " factions impies, sanguinaires ou ambitieuses, qui
 " devoient anéantir la France, au du moins la re-
 " placer sous le joug, si la Providence ne déconcer-
 " toit pas toujours les complots de l'iniquité ?—Le
 " génie infernal du ministre Anglois.—C'est avec
 " l'or de ses victimes de l'Inde qu'il payoit le sang
 " François, versé à grands flots à Paris, dans les
 " departemens, aux frontières et dans les colo-
 " nies.——

" What man, enlightened by experience, will
 " now deny, that from the head of Pitt have come
 " all the crimes which have rendered the revolu-
 " tion detestable in the eyes of even those who
 " adored its principles ; that it was English jea-
 " lousy and hatred that lighted the flames, and
 " sharpened the poniards, which have reduced the
 " finest possessions in the world to a heap of ashes
 " and blood ?—What evil genius created the im-
 " pious, sanguinary, and ambitious factions, that
 " were to annihilate France ; or at least bend it
 " again beneath the yoke, if Providence had not
 " disconcerted the plans of iniquity ?—The infernal
 " genius of the English Minister. It was with the
 " gold drawn from the victims in India, that he
 " paid for the French blood, which has flowed in
 " rivers at Paris, in the departments, on the fron-
 " tiers, and in the colonies."

This is an *important*, and were it not so very
 hackneyed and threadbare, I would call it a "*pre-
 cious confession*." Here we see a Frenchman, a
 partisan of, and perhaps an actor in, the revolu-
 tion, endeavouring to wipe away the stain on its
 principles, by ascribing all the horrors those princi-
 ples

ples have produced, to the gold distributed among the revolutionists by the English Minister. The cruelties that have been committed were not, then, necessary to the establishment of a free government; they were not the effect of irritation, of anarchical confusion, of vindictive retaliation; they were not the natural consequence of a long-oppressed people's breaking their chains and rising on their tyrants: all these excuses (which I must allow were silly enough) are at once done away by this new justification; for we are here told, in so many words, that the French people have shed rivers of each other's blood, in every part of their dominions, purely for the love—not of *liberty*, but of *the gold of Pitt*.

There is such a natural connexion between the measures of the several National Assemblies and the massacres that were the immediate consequence of them, that it is impossible to effect a separation without the utmost violence to all manner of reasoning and truth. If it was the *gold of Pitt* that paid for all the French blood that has been spilled, it must have been that gold that paid for the inhuman murder of Messrs. Launay and Flessel; and it must have been that gold which induced the Constituent Assembly to sanction the murder, by giving the assassins of these gentlemen the title of *heroes* and *conquerors*, and by instituting a national festival in their honour.

The revolution was begun, and has hitherto been maintained, by the shedding of innocent blood; therefore, if it was the *gold of Pitt* that paid for that blood, it is to the *gold of Pitt* that the revolution is to be ascribed, and not to that patriotic spirit and love of liberty, with which we have been so long amused. In the fifth chapter of this work, it is incontestably proved, that the several National Assemblies authorized or approved of all the massacres

which have disgraced their country: if, then, these massacres were paid for by Mr. Pitt, must we not inevitably conclude that the National Assemblies were in the same pay? If Mr. Pitt paid for the blood of the family of Bourbon, for that of the King's guards, of the nobility, the clergy, the bankers, the merchants, in short, of all the rich or aristocrats, as they are called, it was Mr. Pitt who destroyed the monarchy: it was he who caused France to be a republic, and who gave rise to the doctrine of equality. Those, therefore, who talk of the *gold of Pitt*, must cease all their fulsome eulogiums on these gallant republicans; for, if they are to have a republic, it will, according to their own confessions, be the work of the English Minister.

This vindication, throwing the blame on the *gold of Pitt*, amply participates in the misfortune of all the vindications that have lately appeared amongst us; that is, it takes up a bad cause, and makes it worse. The reader will certainly feel with me, an inexpressible indignation at a people, who, because an hostile army was on their frontiers, could be prevailed on to butcher thousands upon thousands of their innocent countrymen; who could cut the throats of their fathers and mothers, rip up the bowels of women with child, and carry about the trophies of their base and savage triumph on the points of their pikes and bayonets; but what will be his feelings, what will contain his swelling heart, when he is told, that all this was undertaken and perpetuated for foreign gold? The revolutionists, by accusing Mr. Pitt of being at the bottom of their massacres, do not perceive, without doubt, that they are heaping ten times tenfold infamy on themselves and their nation.

By alleging this influence of British gold, the writer I have above quoted reduces himself and the partisans of the revolution to a most distressing dilemma.

lemma. He owns that rivers of French blood have flowed at Paris, in the departments, on the frontiers, and in the colonies; and he tells us, that this blood was paid for with the gold of Pitt. Now, admitting this to be true, this blood has been shed, and this gold received, by *Frenchmen*. To what, then, will our author ascribe this sanguinary avarice? He must either ascribe it to the *natural disposition* of his countrymen, or *a change* in that natural disposition, *produced by the revolution*. It is uncertain which of these he may choose, but it is very certain, choose which he will, that he has held up the character of his nation, or the principles of the revolution, to detestation and abhorrence.

This is the way he has justified the French in the eyes of the people of this country. Infinitely better were it for such justifiers to suffer the press to rest in eternal inaction. All that a good Frenchman can do, is to weep over the disgrace of his country; for, so long as murder, horrid, barbarous, savage murder, shall admit of no excuse, so long shall the actions of the French revolutionists remain unjustifiable.

It is more than probable, that a writer of this stamp might be willing to allow that his countrymen were always naturally ferocious and bloody-minded, rather than confess that this disposition has been produced by the principles of the revolution: for patriots of this kind are ever ready to sacrifice the honour of their country to the support of their systems. But justice demands from us to reject with disdain every such conclusion. We have seen the French people sprightly, beneficent, humane, and happy; let us now follow them, step by step, into the awful opposite, and see for ourselves, by what diabolical means the change has been effected.

The first National Assembly had hardly assumed that title, when they discovered an intention of overturning the Government, which had been called together, and which their constituents had enjoined them to support, and of levelling all ranks and distinctions among the different orders in the community. To this they were not led, as it had been so falsely pretended, by their love of liberty and desire of seeing their country happy; but by envy, cursed envy, that will never let the fiery demagogue sleep in peace, while he sees a greater or richer than himself. It has been objected to this, that there were, among the revolutionists, men who already enjoyed distinguished honours; but it is forgotten at the same time, that ambition will be at the top, or no where; that it will destroy itself with the envied object, rather than act a subaltern part. The motto of a demagogue is that of Milton's Satan: "Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven."

This task of destruction was, however, an arduous one. To tear the complicated work of fourteen centuries to pieces at once, to render honours dishonourable, and turn reverential awe into contempt and mockery, was not to be accomplished but by extraordinary means. It was evident that property must change hands, that the best blood of the nation must flow in torrents, or the project must fail. The Assembly, to arm the multitude on their side, broached the popular doctrine of *equality*. It was a necessary part of the plan of these reformers to seduce the people to their support; and such was the credulity of the unfortunate French, that they soon began to look on them as the oracles of virtue and wisdom, and believed themselves raised, by one short sentence issued by these ambitious impostors, from the state of *subjects* to that of *sovereigns*.

"I punished," says Solon, the Athenian law-giver, "I punished with death all those aspiring
"disturbers

“disturbers of the commonwealth, who, in order to
 “domineer themselves, and lead the vulgar in their
 “train, pretended that all men were equal, and
 “sought to confound the different ranks in society,
 “by preaching up a chimerical equality, that never
 “did or can exist.” How happy would it have
 been for France, had there been some Solon endued
 with wisdom and power enough to punish the politi-
 cal mountebanks of the Constituent Assembly! What
 dreadful carnage, what indelible disgrace, the nation
 would have escaped! Hardly had the word *equality* been
 pronounced, when the whole kingdom became a scene
 of anarchy and confusion. The name of liberty (I say
 the *name*, for the regenerated French have known
 nothing but the name), the name of liberty had already
 half turned the heads of the people, and that of equality
 finished the work. From the moment it sounded in
 their ears, all that had formerly inspired respect, all
 that they had revered and adored, even began to ex-
 cite contempt and fury. Birth, beauty, old age, all
 became the victims of a destructive equality, erected
 into a law by an Assembly of ambitious tyrants, who
 were ready to destroy every thing that crossed their
 way to absolute domination.

One of the immediate effects of the promulgation
 of this doctrine, was the murder of Monsieur Fou-
 lon and his son-in-law Berthier; who, without so
 much as being charged with any crime, were taken
 by the people, conducted to Paris, and cruelly
 massacred. I will say nothing (says *Du Gaur*, in
 his eloquent *Memoire*, page 35), I will say nothing
 of the savage cruelties committed on Foulon and
 Berthier; I will not represent the bloody head of
 the father-in-law, offered to the son to kiss, pressed
 against his lips, and afterwards put under his feet;
 I will not represent the inhuman assassins rushing
 on Berthier, tearing out his heart, and placing it, qui-

vering and still palpitating, on the table of the town-hall, *before the magistrates* of the commune. After this, their heads were stuck on pikes, and the heart of Berthier on the point of a sword. In this manner they were carried through the streets, followed by the exulting populace (see *Rabaut's History of the French Revolution*, page 117). Nor let it be pretended that the Assembly could not prevent this shameful, this bloody deed. They had the absolute command of Paris at the time, and had two hundred thousand armed men ready to obey their nod. But the Assembly never opposed the murder of those whom they looked upon as their enemies; nay, Rabaut, their partial historian (who was one of their body), even justifies the murder.

When the word *equality* found its way to the colonies, it was only a signal for assassination. At Port-au-Prince, the Chevalier de Mauduit, a brave and generous officer, who rendered essential services to this country during the last war, was murdered by his own soldiers. The villains had the insolence to order him to kneel down before them: "No," said he, like a soldier as he was, "it shall never be said that Thomas Mauduit bent his knee before a set of scoundrels!" His head was cut off; he was torn limb from limb; his bowels were trailed along the street, as butchers do those of beasts in a slaughter-house. The next morning the different members of his body, and morsels of his flesh, were strewn about opposite his house, and his bloody and ghastly head placed on the step of the doorway. We know we have before our eyes the proofs of what havoc, distress, and destruction this detestable word has since produced in the unfortunate island of St. Domingo.

It was now that the sovereign people, entering on their reign, first took the famous plundering motto: "*La guerre aux chateaux, et la paix aux chaumières*;

chaumières ;" that is, *War to the gentlemen's houses, and peace to the cottage* ; or, in other words, *War to all those who have any thing to lose*. This motto is extremely comprehensive ; it includes the whole doctrine of equality. It was not a vain declaration in France ; but was put in practice with that patriotic zeal which has marked the whole course of the revolution. To be rich, or of a good family, became a crime, which was often expiated by the loss of life. Men took as much pains to be thought obscure vagabonds, as they had formerly done to be thought wealthy and of honest descent ; and what distinguishes the French revolution from all others in the world, to have a ragged pair of breeches, or to be totally in want of that so necessary an article of dress, was esteemed the surest mark of pure patriotism, and was the greatest recommendation to public favour.

But the National Assembly, though heartily seconded by myriads of ragged populace, knew, however, that they could not long depend upon such a promiscuous support. The citizens were, therefore, to be soldiers at the same time, and placed under the command of the creatures of the Assembly. To this end the territory of the nation underwent a new division, on the levelling plan. The provinces of France were melted down into a rude undigested mass of departments, districts, and municipalities. All the old magistrates were replaced by the vilest wretches that could be found. There were forty-four thousand municipalities : each of these had several municipal officers ; and each of these latter his troop of revolutionary myrmidons. There could not be less than three millions of men in arms, ready to burn, cut, and slay, at a moment's warning. Nothing was to be seen or heard but the patrolling of these sons of equality. The Assembly pretended to hold out the olive-branch, while they

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were

were forming the nation into a camp. The peaceable man trembled for his life. One must have been an eye-witness of the change produced by these measures, to have the least idea of it. All was suspicion and dread. The bell that had never rung but to call the peaceful villagers to the altar, was converted into a signal of approaching danger; and the tree, beneath which they formerly danced, became an alarm-post. The ragged, greasy magistrates, with their municipal troops at their heels, were for ever prowling about for their prey, the property of others. These little platoons of cut-throats ranged the country round, crying havoc, burning and laying waste wherever they came. They had not yet begun to murder frequently; but it was of little consequence to a man whether his brains were blown out or not, after having seen himself and family reduced, in the space of a few hours, from affluence to beggary. A band of these enlightened ruffians went to the *chateau*, or country-house of a gentleman in Provence, and demanded that his person should be delivered into their hands. The servants defended the house for some time, but in vain; they advanced to the front door, when the lady of the house appeared with her child in her arms, and endeavoured to pacify them, saying, that her husband was gone out at the back door. The ruffians instantly set fire to the house. When the lady perceived this, she confessed that her husband was hidden in one of the garrets. The house was now on fire; she left her child, and rushed through the flames to call her husband from his retreat, but she was stifled in the passage, and burnt to death, and her husband shared in her fate, leaving a helpless infant to the mercy of the murderers of its father and mother.—A hundred volumes like this could not contain the horrors that these

these revolutionary robbers committed in the name of liberty and equality.

Let this, Americans, be a lesson to you; throw from you the doctrine of equality as you would the poisoned chalice. Wherever this detestable principle gains ground to any extent, ruin must inevitably ensue. Would you stifle the noble flame of emulation, and encourage ignorance and idleness? Would you inculcate defiance of the laws? Would you teach servants to be disobedient to their masters, and children to their parents? Would you sow the seeds of envy, hatred, robbery, and murder? Would you break all the bands of society asunder, and turn a civilized people into a horde of savages? This is all done by the comprehensive word *equality*. But they tell us we are not to take it in the unqualified sense. In what sense are we to take it then? Either it means something more than liberty, or it means nothing at all. The misconstruction of the word *liberty* has done mischief enough in the world; to add to it a word of still more dangerous extent, was to kindle a flame that never can be extinguished but by the total debasement, if not destruction, of the society who are silly or wicked enough to adopt its use. We are told, that every government receives with its existence the latent disease that is one day to accomplish its death; but the government that is attacked with this political apoplexy is annihilated in the twinkling of an eye.

The civil disorganization of the state was but the forerunner of those curses which the Assembly had in store for their devoted country. They plainly perceived that they never should be able to brutify the people to their wishes without removing the formidable barriers of religion and morality. Their heads were turned, but it was necessary to corrupt their hearts.

Besides this, the leaders in the Assembly were
professed

professed modern philosophers; that is to say, atheists or deists. Camus and Condorcet openly taught atheism, and Ceruti said, with his last breath, "*The only regret I have in quitting this world, is, that I leave a religion on earth.*" These words, the blasphemy of an expiring demon, were applauded by the assembled Legislators. It was not to be wondered at, that the vanity of such men should be flattered in the hope of changing the most Christian country into the most infidel upon the face of the earth; for there is a sort of fanaticism in irreligion, that leads the profligate atheist to seek for proselytes with a zeal that would do honour to a good cause, but which, employed in a bad one, becomes the scourge of society.

The zeal of these philosophers for extirpating the truth was as great at least as that shown by the primitive Christians for its propagation. But they proceeded in a very different manner. At first, some circumspection was necessary. The more effectually to destroy the Christian religion altogether, they began by sapping the foundation of the Catholic faith, the only one that the people had been taught to revere. They formed a schism with the Church of Rome, well knowing that the opinions of the vulgar, once set afloat, were as likely to fix on atheism as on any other system: and more so, as being less opposed to their levelling principles than the rigid though simple morality of the Gospel. A religion that teaches obedience to the higher powers, inculcates humility and peace, strictly forbids robbery and murder, and, in short, enjoins on men to do as they would be done unto, could by no means suit the armed ruffians who were to accomplish the views of the French Assembly.

The press, which was made free for the worst of purposes, lent most powerful aid to these destructive reformers. While the Catholic religion was ridiculed

culed and abused, no other Christian system was proposed in its stead; on the contrary, the profligate wretches who conducted the public prints, among whom were Mirabeau, Marat, Condorcet, and Hebert, filled one half of their impious sheets with whatever could be thought of to degrade all religion in general. The ministers of divine worship, of every sect and denomination, were represented as cheats, and as the avowed enemies of the sublime and sentimental something which the Assembly had in store for the regeneration of the world.

Most of my readers must have heard of the magnificent church of St. Geneviève at Paris: it was one of the most noble structures that the world had ever seen, and had, besides, the honour of being consecrated to the worship of Christ. This edifice the blasphemers seized on as a receptacle for the remains of their "*great men*." From a Christian church they changed it into a Pagan temple, and gave it the name of *Pantheon*. Condorcet, pre-eminent in infamy, proposed the decree by which the name of God and that of St. Geneviève were ordered to be effaced from the frontispiece.

To this *Pantheon* the ashes of Voltaire were first transported, and the Assembly spent no less than three days in determining whether those of *Rousseau* should not accompany them. The distinction paid to two of the most celebrated deists of the age, was a full declaration of the principles, as well as the intention, of the majority of the Assembly.

Those who have not had the patience to wade through the lies and blasphemies of Voltaire, know his principles from report. *Rousseau* is not so well known; and as he was, and still continues to be, the great oracle of the revolutionists, I am persuaded a page or two on his character, and that of his works, will not be lost here, particularly as I have

heard both mentioned with applause, in this country, by persons apparently of the best intentions.

The philosopher Rousseau, the pagod of the regenerated French, was born at Geneva; and, at a proper age, he was bound an apprentice to an artist. During his apprenticeship he frequently robbed his master, as well as other persons. Before his time was expired he decamped, fled into the dominions of the King of Sardinia, where he changed the Presbyterian for the Catholic religion. This beginning seemed to promise fair for what followed. By an unexpected turn of fortune he became a footman, in which capacity he did not forget his old habit of stealing. He is detected with the stolen goods; swears they were given to him by a maid-servant of the house; the girl is confronted with him; she denies the fact, and weeping presses him to confess the truth; but the young philosopher still persists in the lie, and the poor girl is driven from her place in disgrace. Tired of being a serving-man, he went to throw himself on the protection of a lady, whom he had seen once before, and who he protests was the most virtuous creature of her sex. This lady had so great a regard for him, that she called him her little darling, and he called her mamma. Mamma had a footman, who served her, besides, in another capacity very much resembling that of a husband; but she had a most tender affection for her adopted son Rousseau, and, as she feared he was forming connexions with a certain lady that might spoil his morals, she herself, out of pure virtue, took him—to bed with her! This virtuous effort to preserve the purity of Rousseau's heart, had a dreadful effect on the head of the poor footman, and so he poisoned himself—Rousseau fell sick, and mamma was obliged to part with little darling, while he performed a journey to the south

south of France for the recovery of his health. On the road he dines with a gentleman, and lies with his wife. As he was returning back he debated with himself whether he should pay this lady a second visit or not; but, fearing he might be tempted to seduce her daughter also, virtue got the better, and determined the little darling to fly home into the arms of his mamma; but, alas! those arms were filled with another. Mamma's virtue had prompted her to take a substitute, whom she liked too well to part with, and our philosopher was obliged to shift for himself. I should have told the reader, that the little darling, while he resided with his mamma, went to make a tour with a young musician. Their friendship was warm, like that of most young men, and they were, besides, enjoined to take particular care of each other during their travels. They travelled on for some time, agreed perfectly well, and vowed an everlasting friendship for each other: but the musician being one day taken in a fit, fell down in the street, which furnished the faithful Rousseau with an opportunity of slipping off with some of his things, and leaving him to the mercy of the people in a town where he was a total stranger.

We seldom meet with so much villany in a youth. His manhood was worthy of it. He turned apostate a second time, was driven from within the walls of his native city of Geneva as an incendiary, and an apostle of anarchy and infidelity; nor did he forget how to thieve. At last the philosopher marries, but like a philosopher, that is, without going to church. He has a family of children, and, like a kind philosophical father, for fear they should want after his death, he sends them to the poor-house during his lifetime! To conclude, the philosopher dies, and leaves the philosopheress, his wife, to the protection

protection of a friend ; she marries a footman, and gets turned out into the street.

This is a brief sketch of the life of Jean Jacques Rousseau, the oracle of the regenerated French : a thief, a whoremaster, an adulterer, a treacherous friend, an unnatural father, and twice an apostate. There want only about a hundred murders to make him equal to the immortal Marat, whom we have seen compared to Jesus Christ. This vile wretch has the impudence to say, in the work that contains a confession of these his crimes, that no man can come to the throne of God and say, *I am a better man than Rousseau.*

His writings, though they have very great literary merit, contain such principles as might be expected from such a man : he has exhausted all the powers of reasoning and all the charms of eloquence in the cause of anarchy and irreligion : and his writings are so much the more dangerous, as he winds himself into favour with the unwary, by an eternal cant about *virtue* and *liberty*. He seems to have assumed the mask of virtue for no other purpose than that of propagating with more certain success the blackest and most incorrigible vice *.

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* Two philosophers can seldom agree more than two persons of any other profession : so it happened with *Voltaire* and *Rousseau*. The humorous prophetic satire of the former, occasioned by the publication of *Rousseau's* romance, the *New Eloisa*, is so well worthy of a place here, that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of translating an extract or two from it.

“ In those days there will appear in France a wonderful man. He will say unto the people, Behold, I am possessed by the demon of enthusiasm ; I have received from Heaven the gift of paradoxical inconsistency ; and the light-heeled multitude will dance after him, and many will adore him. And he will say, You are all rascals and prostitutes, and I detest rascals and prostitutes, and come to live amongst you. And he will add, The men and women are all virtuous in the republic of Geneva, where I was born ; a I love virtuous men and women, and I will not live in the coun-
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This was the man and the writer that the Constituent Assembly held up to the imitation and even adoration of the poor deluded French people. The ashes of this thieving philosopher cost the nation almost two thousand guineas in debates.

Those who know what power novelty has on the French, with what enthusiasm, or rather fury, they adopt whatever is in vogue, may guess at the effect that this philosophical canonization of Rousseau produced. Every thing was *à la Rousseau*; his works were hawked about, mouthed in the National Assembly (often by those who understood them not), recommended in all the prints, and spouted at the sans-culotte clubs. His old boorish sayings became the liveliest traits of wit—all his manners were imitated; to be crusty and ill-bred was like Jean Jacques; and, what was particularly offensive to every just mind, his loathsome down-looking portrait, that portrait which seems to be the chosen seat of guilt, was seen at every corner and in every hand.

Having thus prepared the public mind, the Assembly made a bold attack on the Church. They discovered, by the light of philosophy, that France contained too many churches, and, of course, too

where I was born. He will protest that the playhouse is a school of prostitution and corruption; and he will write operas and plays. He will advise mankind to go stark-naked, and he will wear laced clothes when given unto him. He will swear that romances corrupt the morals of all who read them, and he will compose a romance; and in this romance will be seen vice in deeds and virtue in words, and the lovers will be mad with love and with philosophy; and this romance will teach how to seduce a young girl philosophically; and the disciple will lose all shame and modesty; and she will practise foolishness, and raise maxims and paradoxes with her master; and she will kiss first, and ask him to lie with her, and he will actually lie with her, and she will become round and pregnant with metaphysics. And this they will call philosophy and virtue; and they will talk about philosophy and virtue till no soul on earth will know what philosophy and virtue is."

many pastors. Great part of them were therefore to be suppressed, and, to make the innovation go down with the people, all tithes were to be abolished. The measures succeeded; but what did the people gain by the abolition of the tithes? Not a farthing; for a tax of twenty per cent. was immediately laid on the lands in consequence of it. The cheat was not perceived till it was too late.

But the abolition of the tithes, the only motive of which was to debase the Clergy in the opinions of the people, was but a trifle to what was to follow. The religious orders, that is to say, the communities of monks and nuns, possessed immense landed estates, and these the honest Assembly had marked for their own. As a pretext for the seizure, they first decreed that the wealth of the religious orders belonged to the nation, to that indefinite being that exists every where and no where, and that has devoured all without receiving any thing.

As this act of seizing the estates of the regular clergy was one of those that gave a decisive blow to the property as well as religion in France, and one that has received the greatest applauses in this country, I shall enter a little at length on the flagrant injustice of it. Nor is the subject inapplicable to ourselves; for, though there are no religious orders in America, there are many people of property; and it is of a violation of property that I here charge the Assembly.

How the estates of the religious orders became the property of a certain somebody called the nation, in 1791, is to me wholly inconceivable, seeing that there never was a time when they belonged to that society of men now called the French. Great part of the monasteries had been founded five, six, seven hundred years, and some above a thousand years, before the most worthless of the French took it into their heads to be so many sovereigns. The founders
were

were men of pious and austere lives, who, wishing to retire from the world, obtained grants of uncultivated land, generally in some barren and solitary spot. There they formed little miserable settlements, which, by their frugality and labour, in time became rich meadows, farms, and vineyards. A French historian, speaking of St. Etienne, says: "In 1058 he retired to Citeaux, then a vast forest, inhabited only by wild beasts. Here, with the help of his followers, he built a monastery of the wood of the forest; but, at first, it was no more than a group of shabby huts. Every thing bore the marks of extreme poverty: the cross was of wood, the censers of copper, and the candlesticks of iron. All the ornaments were of coarse woollen or linen. Labour was the only means of subsistence with the monks of Citeaux. For many years bread was their only food, and they were often reduced to a scarcity of even that."

In time this forest became a cultivated and flourishing estate, and the successors of the first proprietors were not only at their ease, but even rich. The monastery, which was at first but a clump of ill-shaped huts, built with the limbs of trees, bark, and turf, was become a magnificent pile. The church was beautiful beyond description. Instead of wood, and copper, and iron, the symbols of religion and the sacred vases were now of gold, silver, and precious stones. This abbey, at the time of the seizure by the Constituent Assembly, had an annual revenue of 120,000 French livres, or about 6000 pounds sterling.

Now I ask any honest man, was this the property of the French nation, or not? By what rule of right, by what principle of law or justice, could this estate belong to any other than the *lawful* successors of the first proprietors; that is to say, the possessors at the epoch of the seizure? No title ever

framed by man could be so good as theirs. The community at Citeaux had never ceased to exist, nor for a single moment ceased to keep possession of their abbey and its dependencies. They had first obtained a lawful grant of the land, had cleared, cultivated, and enriched it, and had enjoyed an uninterrupted possession during the space of seven hundred and thirty-two years; but, at the end of the *enlightened* eighteenth century, the *Age of Reason*, up starts a horde of lazy, worthless ruffians, calling themselves the nation, and lay claim to their estates!

Bulteau, in speaking of St. Benedict, says: "The
 "bodily labour ordered by this wise founder, was a
 "source of peace and tranquillity to the first monks,
 "and of opulence to their successors. The monas-
 "teries were long an asylum to those Christians who
 "fled from the oppressions of the Goths and Van-
 "dals. The little learning that remained in the
 "barbarous and dark ages was preserved in the clois-
 "ters. It is to them we owe all the most precious
 "remains of antiquity, as well as many modern in-
 "ventions." Indeed, under the great Disposer of all
 events, it is to them we owe that we are Christians;
 that we possess the word of God, our guide to eter-
 nal life. They not only preserved this inestimable
 volume, but spread it in every country in the world.
 Without their agency, our ancestors might have con-
 tinued Pagans; nay, we ourselves, perhaps, might
 now have been sacrificing our children in the hollow
 of a wicker idol. Every man of any reading
 knows, that the monasteries have continued to en-
 rich the world with learned and useful productions.
 Some of the writings that do the greatest honour to
 the French nation, and to the human mind, have
 issued from the cloister. And yet we have seen
 these men robbed of their estates, stripped of even
 their furniture and their vestments, driven from be-
 neath their roofs, hunted like wild beasts; and, what
 I am

I am ashamed to say, many of us have had the folly, or rather baseness, to applaud their unprincipled and blood-thirsty pursuers*.

We are told that the monks were become too rich. Indeed this was their great offence in the eyes of an Assembly, whose motto was, "War to the rich, and peace to the cottager." But we have seen that the foundation of these riches was laid by the labour of their predecessors, and we may observe that they were augmented, not by oppression, as has been falsely asserted, but by a prudent management of their estates. Those communities that cultivated their own lands, were noted for the excellent manner of their cultivation, and for the superior quality of their produce; and those that rented out their farms let them at a low rate, so as to enable the farmer to enrich the land at the same time that he enriched himself. It was by such means that their estates became the most valuable in the country; a circumstance that poor shallow-headed Paine has

* I cannot help observing here, that these unjust and inhuman applauders have not always been confined to the mob. "An Oration on the Progress of Reason," delivered at a public commencement in the University of Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the 18th of July, 1792, contains a philippic against the injured French Monarch and Clergy, the most illiberal that ever disgraced the lips of a petulant, self-sufficient pedant. The *Orator* discovers but little knowledge of any branch of his subject, and more particularly of the character of Louis XVI. of that of the French Clergy, and of the nature of the old Government; against all which he runs on in a strain of invective, more resembling the brutal abusiveness of Calvin, than any thing we ought to expect to hear from the chair of a seminary, at the close of the enlightened eighteenth century. Like many others, this *Orator* looked upon the French revolution as happily terminated; as the dawn of universal peace, liberty, and virtue: he has since had time to see his error, to see the effects of his "Progress of Reason," some of which I have related in the former part of this tract; if he be candid, therefore, he will publicly retract this error. If he should not do this, I shall take the liberty, one of these days, of convincing him that he has erred.

brought against them as a heinous offence. They were gentle, humane masters and landlords : a man looked upon his fortune as made, when he became the tenant of a religious order.

And how were these riches spent ? Not in horses and coaches : people shut up in a cloister had no use for these. Not in balls and plays ; for there they could never appear. Not in rich attire and costly repasts ; for the greater part of them were clothed worse than common beggars, and were forbidden the use of meat, and even of wine, the common drink of their country. Their riches did not go to aggrandize their families ; because, as no individual could possess any thing, so he could bequeath or dispose of nothing. Who, then, profited from these riches ? Go ask the poor, who were happy in the neighbourhood of their convents. Go ask the aged, the infirm, the widow, and the orphan ; and ask them too, what aid and consolation they have received from the thieving philosophers of the revolution.

This charge of being *too rich*, is the most absurd as well as the most vile that could possibly be invented. Do we say to a man, who has acquired an immense fortune by the labour of his father, or by any other means, You are *too rich*, and therefore your property belongs to the nation ? There is a community at Bethlem, very much resembling those we have been speaking of. What should we think of a scoundrel legislator, who should propose to strip these people of their property, and turn them out to beg their bread, merely because the value of their lands is increased ? Such was he who first proposed the seizure of the church lands in France.

Some of the convents in France had been founded by lay persons, upon such and such conditions ; and in case of failure on the part of the community, the property was to revert to the heirs of the donor.— Foundations of this kind were exactly resembling those

those we frequently see among us, of hospitals, seminaries, &c. and the deeds were still in existence at the time of the seizure ; but an Assembly that paid no respect to a right of prescription, founded on a thousand years of uninterrupted possession, could not be expected to pay attention to the contents of a bit of old parchment.

We ought not to be astonished at hearing the author of *The Age of Reason* attempt to justify this act of impudent fraud ; but let us see how his doctrine would suit, if applied to ourselves : for this is the only way to determine on its merits. Suppose (which God forbid !) the principles of the French revolution should be adopted by our Legislature, and they should declare all the meeting-houses, seminaries, hospitals, &c. together with the estates which have been left for their support, *the property of the nation* ; how should we receive this ? Suppose an army of cut-throats should be sent to the Friends' meeting-house, and thrust them out with the point of the bayonet ; suppose another should go to the episcopal church, drive the congregation from the altar, strip the minister of his cassock, seize on the sacramental cup, and turn the church into a stable ; I ask, how should we like this ?—But, we are told, there is a vast difference ; that the monks were superstitious drones, useless to society. Ah ! let us beware. Let us take care not to condemn, because we are Protestants, a religion that differs from our own in form only ; a religion that has yet more votaries than any other Christian profession can boast of. And as to the religious orders being useless to society, we have no proofs of this, but strong presumptive ones to the contrary ; for we know that France was great and happy, that it had been increasing in extent, wealth, and population, since the existence of those communities. However, I can by no means take upon me to prove the public utility of the monastic life ; nor

is it necessary ; for if no man is to possess property, unless he can prove his utility to society, I am afraid that few of us would be secure. How many hundreds of proprietors do we see, who are much *worse* than useless to society ! Surely the public is as much benefited by a man who spends his life in a convent, as by one who spends it in a tavern, at a billiard-table, or in a playhouse. Thousands and thousands there are who never worked a stroke nor studied a single hour ; vegetating mortals, who seem to live only to eat and drink, and be carried about. Yet we have never thought of seizing their estates. No ; utility, or inutility, has nothing to do with the matter ; the question before us is a simple question of right. Whether monks were necessary or useful in France, or not ? We know there were such people, and that they possessed property, legally acquired ; and every honest man, capable of distinguishing between right and wrong, will hold in abhorrence the Assembly that dared to rob them of it.

When we hear of such crying acts of injustice as this, we are naturally led to inquire who were the first promoters of them. The reader will be astonished to hear, that the decree for this national robbery was first proposed by a Bishop. Of a hundred and thirty-eight French Bishops, there were only four to be found who would give their approbation to this deed, and one of these four was he who proposed the decree. The Abbé Barruel speaks of him in the following terms : “ The Assembly thought it
 “ high time to consummate their designs upon the
 “ Church, by seizing what still remained of its
 “ possessions. This measure was so evidently contrary to every principle of justice and common honesty, that it was not easy to find a man so totally
 “ lost to every sentiment of humanity as to bring it
 “ forward. This second Judas was at last found in
 “ the College of the Apostles. This was Talleyrand
 “ Ferigord,

“Perigord, Bishop of Autun. This Perigord possessed all the baseness, all the vices of a Jew.”—
See Hist. of the French Clergy, page 15.

To obtain the sanction of the people to this act, they were told that the wealth of the Church would not only pay off the national debt, but render taxes in future unnecessary. No deception was ever so barefaced as this; but even this was not wanted; for the people themselves had already begun to taste the sweets of plunder. Avarice tempted the trading part of the nation to approve of the measure. At the time of passing the decree they were seen among the first to applaud it. They saw an easy mean of obtaining those fine rich estates, the possession of which they had, perhaps, long coveted. In vain they were told, that the purchaser would partake in the infamy of the robbery; that, if the title of the communities could not render property secure, that same property could never be secure under any title the plunderers could give. In vain were they told, that in sanctioning the seizure of the wealth of others, they were sanctioning the seizure of their own, whenever that all-devouring monster, the sovereign people, should call on them for it. In vain were they told all this; they purchased; they saw with pleasure the plundered Clergy driven from their dwellings; but scarcely had they taken possession of their ill-gotten wealth, when not only that, but the remains of their other property, were wrenched from them. Since that we have seen decree upon decree launched forth against the rich: their account-books have been submitted to public examination; they have been obliged to give drafts for the funds they possessed even in foreign countries; all their letters have been intercepted and read. How many hundreds of them have we seen led to the scaffold, merely because they were proprietors of what their sovereign stood in need of! These were acts of unexampled

exampled tyranny; but as they respected the persons who applauded the seizure of the estates of the Church, they were *perfectly just*. Several of these avaricious purchasers have been murdered within the walls of those buildings, whence they had assisted to drive the lawful proprietors: this was *just*: it was the measure they had meted to others. They shared the fate of the injured Clergy, without sharing the pity which that fate excited. When dragged forth to slaughter in their turn, they were left without even the right of complaining: the last stab of the assassin was accompanied with the cutting reflection that it was *just*.

I have dwelt the longer on this subject, as it is, perhaps, the most striking and most awful example of the consequences of a violation of property, that the world ever saw. Let it serve to warn all those who wish to raise their fortunes on the ruin of others, that sooner or later their own turn must come. From this act of the Constituent Assembly we may date the violation, in France, of every right that men ought to hold dear. Hence the seizure of all the gold and silver, as the property of the nation; hence the law preventing the son to claim the wealth of his father; hence the abominable tyranny of requisitions; and hence thousands and thousands of the murders that have disgraced unhappy France.

Since the seizure of the Church estates there has not, in fact, been any such thing as private property in France; for, though the Constituent Assembly did not pass a decree of this import, they knew perfectly well how to pass decrees and establish regulations amounting to the same thing. Some of their enormous contributions on the rich were called *patriotic gifts*; but he who refused to pay the *gifts* inserted in the list, knew he had but a few hours to live. The money and jewels deposited at the bar of the Assembly and on the altar of the country, amounted

to immense sums. These were held out as a proof of a general approbation of their measures ; but had the Assembly been candid, they would have confessed that these offerings were the pure effect of fear, of a panic that had seized all the proprietors in the nation, and that each giver's hatred to their cause might be measured by the sum he deposited. It was not a grateful free-will offering, but a sacrifice that the trembling wretch came to offer at the shrine of tyranny, in order to save his house from the flames, or his own head, or that of some dear relation or parent, from the scaffold. Could a man, reduced to acts like this, be said to possess any thing ?

The successors of the Constituent Assembly laid aside the mask, as no longer necessary. On the 13th of March, 1794, all the merchants of Bourdeaux (known for one of the most infamously patriotic towns in the kingdom) were arrested in one day, and condemned, in presence of the guillotine, to a fine of *one hundred millions* of French livres, upwards of *four millions* sterling. On the 18th of April, the rich Banker, La Borde, after having *purchased his life eight times*, was guillotined, and the remainder of his riches confiscated. On the 10th of May, twenty-seven rich Farmers-general were executed, because they had amassed riches under the monarchy. Finally, on the 27th of June, all property, of whatever description, was decreed *to belong to the nation*, and was put in a state of requisition accordingly, as the *persons* of the whole of the inhabitants had been before.

The milk-and-water admirers of the Constituent Assembly pretend to be shocked at these measures ; but what are these measures more than an improvement on those of that Assembly ? The progress was not only natural, but even necessary to the support of the revolution. Had there been still Church estates to seize, and monks to murder, it is probable that the tyrants who have succeeded the Constitu-

ent

ent Assembly, would not have surpassed their predecessors; but that source being exhausted, they were obliged to find out others, or return to order and obedience. And I should be glad to know, if the property of one individual, or one society, was become the property of the sovereign people by virtue of a decree of one Assembly, why the same claim should not be made to the property of other individuals, or other societies. Nor can I believe, whatever atheists and deists may say to the contrary, that it was any more unjust to guillotine bankers and merchants, or even members of the Constituent Assembly, than to guillotine or massacre poor, defenceless, friendless priests. There is such an intimate connexion between the security of property, and that of the person to whom that property belongs, that one can never be said to be safe, while the other is in danger. Tyrant princes, tyrant assemblies, or tyrant mobs, when once they are suffered to take away with impunity the property of the innocent man, will feel little scruple at taking away his life also. Robbery and murder are the natural auxiliaries of each other; and, with a people rendered ferocious and hardened by an infidel system, that removes all fear of an hereafter, they must for ever be inseparable.

Before the decree was passed for the assumption of the estates of the regular Clergy, every calumny that falsehood could invent, and every vexation that tyranny could enforce, were employed to debase the whole body of the Clergy, and the religion they taught. Songs and caricatures were sung, or hawked about, by shameless strumpets in the pay of the Assembly. In these not only the clerical functions, and the lives of the Clergy, were ridiculed, but even the life of Jesus-Christ and the Virgin Mary. The incarnation of our Saviour became the subject of a *farce*, in the smutty language of Parisian fishwomen.

Who

Who were the characters in this farce, I leave the shuddering reader to conceive.

A decree, in form of an *invitation**, was issued, for bringing the gold and silver from the churches to the mint. It was well known, that there were none of these metals in the churches, except the vases, the crucifixes, and other symbols, hitherto held sacred. What an effect the coining up of these must have on the minds of the giddy multitude, is not difficult to imagine. Many, however, even of the most depraved, felt a momentary horror; but this horror the Assembly knew how to do away. Hundreds, I might say thousands of abandoned scribblers were employed to propagate the new principles. Their little filthy ditties were spread through all the departments, at the expense of the nation. Some of these were catechisms in rhyme, in which the Constitution was substituted for God, the Assembly for the saints, and both recommended to the adoration of the French patriots. The Journal, or Letter, as it was called, of Père du Chêne, written by one Hebert, and of which, it is said, fifty thousand copies were struck off daily, was sent into the towns and villages by the carriers of the decrees of the Assembly. This Hebert, whose strumpet has since been adored at Paris as the Goddess of Reason, was a professed atheist. His journal contained the most outrageous abuse of all that was respectable and sacred, interlarded with oaths and execrations without number. I have one now before me, which has for title: "*Lettre du véritable Père du Chêne, bougrement Patriotique*"—in English: "Letter of the true

* "Invitations from superiors," says some one, "favour strongly of commands." This was so much the case in the present instance, that the priest who dared to disobey, was sure to expiate his disobedience with his life. The magistrates often entered the church and seized the chalices on the altar, during the celebration of the mass. Such are revolutionary *invitations*!

"Father

“ Father du Chêne, b—gerly patriotic.” I would here insert an extract from this letter ; but I trust I shall be believed, when I say, the contents are fully answerable to the title. Such were the agents of Condorcet and his colleagues : thus did they corrupt the morals of the people ; thus did they lead them from one degree of vice to another ; thus were they hardened up to rob and to murder : and thus did the boasted Constituent Assembly lay the foundation of all those horrors we have since heard of.

The magistrates in the different municipalities, chosen from the scum of the nation, distributed these infernal writings among the people in their precincts, and particularly among the young people. If, by chance, some magistrate was found too scrupulous to execute their will, means were soon invented to get rid of him. Some pretext or other was never wanting to excite the mob to put an end to him and his resistance. Chatel, Mayor of St. Denys, was one of this description. The mob were told that this man was the cause of the dearness of bread. They flew to his house, and obliged him to reduce the price according to their will, though it was well known that he had not the power to reduce it at all, unless at his own expense. The rabble were dispersing, but they had not fulfilled the bloody wishes of the revolutionary agents, who had nothing less in view than the lowering of the price of bread. They were instigated to return to the unfortunate magistrate. First they attempted to hang him ; but, wearied with his resistance, one of them took out his knife, and cut his head partly off, while several others pricked him with their bayonets. The unhappy victim was still alive after the back of his neck was cut asunder, and was heard to groan out, “ *For Heaven’s sake kill me ! kill me ! you make me suffer too long !*” The sanguinary villain, who had begun to cut his head off, now threw away his knife, and borrowed that
of

of his comrade, with which he finished the work. When he found that his own knife was not sufficient, he said with a cool indifference, "*Lend me your knife, for mine is not worth a curse.*" That which was lent him, was a little twopenny knife with a wooden handle. During this time, other assassins gave him several stabs with their knives in the belly and stomach: one of them turned his knife slowly in the flank of the dying man, and said to him, laughing, "*Does that enter well? Don't you find the daylight peep into you?*"—He at last expired, after the most inconceivable torments. His body was dragged along the streets of St. Denys, with his head tied to his feet. A resolution of the town has since declared him *innocent of any offence whatever*: he had given abundant assistance to the poor the winter before: the diminution he had just made in the price of bread was at his own expense; and this barbarous punishment was his recompense. His wife went distracted, and has ever since been in a mad-house. His assassins obtained pardon from the Assembly; a circumstance much less surprising than that they should think it necessary to ask it.—See Du Cour's Memoire, page 57.

Examples of this kind, and such were wanting in very few parts of the country, could not fail to ensure an implicit obedience on the part of the magistrates.

The debasement of religion was nearly completed by the public sale of the suppressed churches and monasteries. The grossest indecency presided at all these demoniac scenes. When the vile agent of the Assembly, hammer in hand, had exhausted his auctioneer rhetoric, in recommending a church as an excellent barn, stable, or playhouse, it was knocked down to the base and avaricious speculator, while the hireling mob shouted applause. The church of Aldegone, at St. Omer's (I love to cite instances),
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the

the highest in that ancient town, and for hundreds of years the pride of its inhabitants, was sold to a *Jew* of Dunkirk, for the pitiful sum of 20,000 French livres in assignats, not more than 200 pounds sterling, nor half the cost of one of the pillars. This beautiful edifice, by the spire of which the town was known at a great distance, had been chosen for destruction, that the humiliation of religion might be the more striking. It met with such treatment as might be expected from the hands of an infidel. Its lofty spire was tumbled to the earth in less than a month; the body of the church was turned into a rope-walk; and the Jew proprietor, to complete the degradation of Christianity, left a representation of the Lord's Supper uneffaced in the chancel. What must be the grief, what the indignation of the thinking and pious part of the inhabitants of St. Omer's, thus to see their favourite church, the sanctuary of their God, and the God of their fathers, delivered, for a bundle of depreciated paper-money, into the hands of a descendant of the murderers of Him to whose worship it was consecrated!

To give the reader a just idea of the ribaldry, of the scenes of brutal impiety, exhibited at the pillage of the convents, is totally impossible. A dozen or two of carts rattling along with a Commissary at their head, followed by an escort of raggamuffins, decorated with a bit of three-coloured riband, and armed with hammers, axes, crow-bars, and spades, generally formed the corps for such an expedition. Hardly were the doors opened, when the vaults rang with their hammering and their oaths. In a few hours the whole was gutted. The decorations of the altar, the priests' vestments, statues, pictures, books, manuscripts, the most precious pieces of antiquity, the productions of long and laborious lives of study, were hauled away as so much rubbish. The paintings on the doors, walls, ceilings,
and

and other fixtures, were effaced or disfigured: the fury of the enlightened ruffians descended even to the graves of the deceased fathers.

At the expulsion of the nuns, the conduct of the revolutionists was, if possible, still more swinish and cruel. While the gibing Commissary pulled aside their veils to examine their faces, his black-guard attendants congratulated them on the *pleasures* they were going to enjoy in the world, and this in a language calculated to raise a blush on the cheek of a common street-walker. They seemed to enjoy their tears, and even to make some sacrifices to augment them. Had any one a piece of needle-work which she wished to preserve, it was rent to pieces before her face. A singing-bird that had the misfortune to have been the companion of the solitary hours of its mistress, was sure to be taken from her and killed. To these dejected and defenceless females every insult and indignity was offered, not forgetting the last of which beastly libertines can be guilty.

In a country where the crucifix was sent to the mint; where churches were put up at auction; where the half-worn cassock, the surplice, and the veil, made part of the assortment of a dealer in old clothes, and were exposed to public sale on the market-place; where the ministers of the Gospel were scoffed at, reviled, and frequently murdered with as little ceremony as one would kill a dog; where the most daring blasphemies were uttered and published, and spread through the country, not only with the permission of its governors, but by their direction; in a country where all this was practised, religion could not be of long duration. Religion, and even the Catholic religion, did, however, still subsist in France, at least in *form*. The Assembly had as yet passed no positive decree for its abolition. They had robbed the Church, had strip-

ped its altars, and degraded its ministers; but still the most pious and active of those ministers were left in the exercise of their functions. The parochial Clergy, though deprived of the tithes, had a stipend allowed them. They yet remained with their parishioners, many of whom, indeed nearly all the elderly and sober part of them, continued as firmly attached to their pastors, as at any former period.

Things were not suffered to remain long in this state. The Constituent Assembly well knew, that they and religion could never exist for any length of time in the same country. The parochial Clergy were men of talents and industry. They generally decided all the little disputes between their parishioners; to which amiable capacity they often joined that of physician or surgeon; and these their beneficent services were always rendered without fee or reward. Even the atheists and deists themselves had repeatedly acknowledged their virtuous modesty, and the great utility they were of to the community at large. Such a body of men, immovably attached to the religion they taught, was truly formidable to the new tyrants. Religion had received a severe blow; but if these men retained their cures, it might recover. Nay, what was still more dreadful, the monarchy itself might recover along with it; and it is not difficult to conceive, how an idea like this must haunt the minds of the pupils of the savage and imperious Diderot, who hoped to see "the last of kings strangled with the "guts of the last of priests." In short, the parochial Clergy were the only men on earth they had now to fear, and these they got rid of by a stratagem worthy of an Assembly, the leaders of which joined to the most hardened wickedness the profoundest dissimulation.

They

They laid aside the *Rights of Man*, together with the famous Constitution, from which they took the adjunct to their name, and which we have since seen burnt by the hands of the common hangman (or rather common guillotiner), in that very city of Paris, where it had been issued amidst the applauses, and even adorations of the populace. They laid aside the discussion of this instrument of shortlived and ridiculous memory, to draw up another, which they were pleased to call "the Civic Constitution of the Clergy." They were constitution-mad, absolutely frantic.

It might be sufficient to say of this latter constitution, that it was just as subversive of religion as the other constitution was of every principle of government and sound policy. They knew it to be in direct opposition to the very nature of the Catholic religion: yet they had the assurance to tell the people, that it was not; they even went so far as to protest, that they would live and die in the religion of their forefathers, at the very moment when they were taking the surest measure in the world for destroying it. They were led to this hypocritical declaration from a fear that the body of the people were not yet ripe for a total abolition of religion; and, as we shall see in the sequel, this fear was not entirely unfounded. By persuading the people that nothing was intended against their faith, they had an additional handle against the Clergy, by representing them as unfriendly to their "Civil Constitution," merely because it was necessary to the support of the *Rights of Man*.

This instrument did not, however, pass into a law without considerable resistance. There were yet some honest and virtuous men even among the members of the Constituent Assembly. These had remained with them, not to aid in overturning the Government, and effecting the dreadful revolution

that has since rendered the country a slaughter-house, but to oppose the destructive measures of the philosophers, and, if possible, save the sinking state. At the head of these was the learned and eloquent Abbé Maury. He opposed this "Civil Constitution," with all the powers of reasoning and all the charms of eloquence : but it was casting pearls before swine. When was an atheist open to conviction ? The decree passed, and was soon after followed by another, obliging the Clergy to swear to observe and maintain the " Civil Constitution." This oath they could not take without breaking that which they had taken at entering into the priesthood ; and that the Assembly had every reason to suppose they would not do. Whether they did or not, however, the end of their tyrants was answered : if they refused, they were to be driven from their livings ; if they complied, they must be looked upon as apostates, and be deserted by all those who were still attached to them. In either case the tottering remains of religion must come to the ground. The Clergy, and indeed the whole nation, and all Europe, saw the real object of this inhuman and impious decree ; but the Assembly, surrounded with their *enlightened* myrmidons, the Parisian mob, bid defiance to earth and Heaven.

Generally speaking, the Clergy were resolved not to take the oath. " Lose no time," said the Abbé Maury, " in the delivery of your challenge. By shedding our blood, you may ingratiate yourselves with your constituents. Lose, then, not a single moment. Your victims are here ; they are ready. To their torments add not that of suspense. Why not vote at once for our execution, glut your hatred, and quench for a little, your thirst for blood ? Hasten, I say, while the power is in your hands ; for remember, I now foretel, *your reign will be of short duration.*"

This prophetic address, which we have seen so fully verified, served only to inflame. Eight days only were given the Clergy to determine on compliance or refusal, during which no stratagem that base and degenerate tyranny could devise, was left untried to intimidate them. This was ever their practice, when they had an important blow to strike. Rochefoucault, formerly a duke, declared, at the time the decree for the seizure of the monasteries was under deliberation, that "*the lives of the bishops and priests, in the Assembly, depended upon the passing of it;*" and, in order to silence all those who opposed it, a list of their names was stuck up on the walls, with a promise of a reward of "twelve hundred livres to any patriot who would assassinate them."—According to this laudable custom, this instance of French liberty, when the day for taking the oath, or, as it was well termed, "the forswearing day," arrived, the Assembly took care to call in the aid of the fishwomen and mob. "*To the lamp-post with the nonjuring bishops and priests!*" was echoed from the streets and the galleries. The ruffians were prepared for murder, and were howling for their prey, like so many wolves round a sheepfold.

Let the reader imagine himself in the situation of one of these unfortunate clergymen; an oath of apostacy before him, and a halter behind his back; and then let him give me his opinion of the *Rights of Man*.

This did not intimidate the Clergy; only thirty of whom could be prevailed on to submit, and these were already known to have abandoned their religion. When the oath was tendered to the Bishop of Agen, "Gentlemen," says he, "I lament, not the loss of my fortune; but there is another loss which I should ever lament, the loss of your esteem and my faith. I could not fail to lose

"both, if I took the oath now proposed to me." The old Bishop of Poitiers, fearing he might lose so fair an opportunity of bearing testimony of his sincerity, advanced to the tribune, and calling on the President to command silence; "Gentlemen," said he, "I am seventy years old; I have been thirty years a bishop: I will never disgrace my gray hairs by an oath of apostacy." Upon this manly declaration of the reverend old prelate, the Clergy rose from their seats, thanked him for his example, and told the Assembly he had expressed their unanimous sentiments.

Not being a Roman Catholic, I hope I shall be excused, when I freely declare, that I much question, whether the ministers of any Protestant communion, in a moment so terrible, surrounded with assassins, and without a single friend, would have shown *such* a noble intrepidity. "They have lost their money," said the profligate Mirabeau, on this occasion, "*but they have saved their honour* *."

And,

* Doctor Priestley (Fast Sermon of 1794, page 46) says, "When I was myself in France, in 1774, I saw sufficient reason to believe, that *hardly any person of eminence, in church or state, and especially in the least degree eminent in philosophy or literature, was a believer in Christianity*; and no person will suppose that there has been any change in favour of Christianity *in the last twenty years.*"—The Doctor will allow, I suppose, that bishops are "*persons of eminence in the church*;" if he does, it will appear that he knew but very little of those of the French church, and that he formed a very rash opinion (to say the best of it) concerning their belief in Christianity; for, of *one hundred and thirty-eight* bishops, only four, namely, Talleyrand, Brienne, Jarrante, and Gobet, took the oath of apostacy. But, he will say, I meant "*those eminent in philosophy and literature.*" Ah! eminent in *philosophy*! here he is right. No, no; not one of the *philosophical divines* believed in Christianity; they looked upon Christ as the Unitarians do; that is, as a sort of "teacher:" but, to the honour of the French bishops, there were but four of these philosophers amongst them. As to the other *hundred and thirty*, if they have not given a proof of their belief, I should be glad to know from

And, if this was the case, what had the Assembly done? If, to *preserve honour*, it was necessary to refuse an obedience to their decrees, what sort of decrees must those be?

The Assembly were disconcerted by this firm resistance on the part of the Clergy; they knew the Clergy in general would never take the oath, but they did not imagine that those amongst themselves would, amidst the vociferations of their cannibals, have the courage to give such a positive denial. For a moment they felt abashed; but they were gone too far to think of retreating. The apostate Abbé Gregoire, whom we have since seen amongst the organizers of a Pagan festival, was, on this occasion,

from the Doctor, what proof he will please to be satisfied with.— Their refusal to take the oath could be dictated by nothing but their belief in Christianity, and their determination not to dishonour it. Had not this been the case, they would have taken the oaths, and preserved their fortunes. They were in a country where the mob do not, like those of Birmingham, content themselves with the execution of an *effigy*; they execute the person. Yet they remained at their post: they did not *decamp in disguise*. Even if they escape the knives of the cut-throats, they know that poverty, beggary, a lingering existence, must be the price of their refusal. They could not *bring an action against the city of Paris*: no damages are granted by a jury in that country. They could not *preach and prate against the Government* with impunity; they could not *transfer their property*, and *emigrate in open day*. There are such things as national guards, municipalities, passports, halters, daggers, knives, drowning-boats, and *the rights of man*, in France. We have since seen several of these bishops, or men “of eminence in the church,” refuse, with the bloody poniards at their breasts, to take this oath. Would they have done this, had they been what Doctor Priestley has represented them to be?—Would they have done this, had they been atheists or deists?—Nay, would they have done this, had they been *Unitarians*?—If we are to judge from the conduct of the Doctor, they would not.—I will not take upon me to say, that the philosophical political divine meant to propagate an atrocious calumny by this sermon of his: I should only observe, that the sermon was preached long after the French bishops had given these undeniable proofs of their faith and sincerity.

chosen to convince the Clergy, that the oath might be taken, without any violation of their faith. After this, in order to deprive the Clergy of an opportunity of defending their opinions in opposition to the oath, they were ordered to advance and take it at once. This decree had no effect: not a man advanced. Now the matter was brought to a point: the decree for enforcing the oath must be repealed, or the Clergy must be driven from their livings, and those in the Assembly from their seats. It is hardly necessary to say that the latter was adopted: one tyrannical measure is the natural and inevitable consequence of another.

A decree was now passed for the expulsion of all the nonjuring bishops and priests, and for the choosing of others in their stead. From this day, it may be said, there was no such thing as an established religion in France. The axe had long been laid to the root of the tree; it was ready to fall, and this stroke levelled it with the earth.

Had the dispute been about this or that tenet; had the oath been imposed with an intention of exchanging one religion for another, the case would have been different; the expulsion might have taken place without any very considerable injury to the morals of the people. But the struggle was that of religion against irreligion, that of Christianity against atheism.

It was (I hope it is so no longer) the opinion of Doctor Priestley, and many other *philosophical divines*, that *any change whatever* was preferable to the continuation of the Catholic religion in France. There is a passage in Moore's Journal, which contains so complete an answer to every thing these gentlemen have advanced on this subject, that I am surprised, considering the principles of the Journalist, and his companion Lauderdale, that it ever found a place in that volume.

The

The Doctor, being in Abbeville, met with a Protestant clergyman, whom he congratulated on the deliverance of himself and his brethren from the vexation of Romish persecution. The clergyman seemed to lament, that along with the spirit of persecution, that of religion daily diminished. "Upon which," says the Doctor, "I observed, that, as nothing could be more opposite to true religion than a spirit of persecution, the former, it was to be hoped, would return without the latter; but, in the mean time, the Protestants were happy in not only being tolerated in the exercise of their religion, but also in being rendered capable of enjoying every privilege and advantage which the Catholics themselves enjoy.

"We are not allowed those advantages, resumed the clergyman, from any regard they bear to our religion, but from a total indifference to their own.

"Whatever may be the cause, replied I, the effect is the same with regard to you.

"No, said he, the effect might be better, not only with respect to us, but to all France: for the spirit of persecution might have disappeared, without an indifference for all religion coming in its place: and in that case there would have been more probability of the true religion gaining ground; for it is easier to draw men from an erroneous doctrine to a true one, than to impress the truths of religion on minds which despise all religion whatever.

"But though you may not be able to make converts of them, I replied, still you may live happy among them, in the quiet possession of your own religion, and all your other advantages.

"I doubt it much, resumed he; being persuaded that, in a country where religious sentiments are effaced from the minds of the bulk of the people,
"crime,

“ crimes of the deepest guilt will prevail in spite of
“ all the restraints of law.”

How fully, alas! has the opinion of this good clergyman been confirmed! Here we see a man living upon the spot, a Frenchman and a Protestant, lamenting the decay of the Catholic religion, and trembling for the consequences. This man plainly perceived the drift of the philosophical legislators: he saw that the destruction of all religion was their object, while they pretended to be correcting its abuses. Very far was he from saying with our zealous reformers, “ that any change was preferable
“ to the continuation of popery;” and yet, I think, we ought to allow him to be as much interested in a change, and as good a judge of its conveniencies and inconveniencies, as persons on this side the sea; except, indeed, that he might not be *enlightened* by the rays of modern philosophy*.

From this digression we must return to the ex-

* Some of the French Protestants, however, differed widely from this good man. The Calvinists of Nîmes began massacring the Catholics at an early period of the revolution, under the pretext that they were *aristocrats*. About six hundred persons, of both sexes and of all ages, were butchered in their houses, in the streets and public squares, before they could even suspect their danger. These monsters attacked the convent of the Capuchins, forced it open, and pursued the venerable fathers out of their dormitories and cells. Five of them were left weltering in their blood at the altar's foot. One of these, a very old man, craved five minutes while he committed his soul to God. The cool and deliberate villains granted his request. The intended butcher held a pistol in one hand, and a watch in the other, and when the five minutes were expired, shot him through the head.—See *Hist. of the French Clergy*, page 71, French edition.

This fact fully proves that Protestants can be as cruel as Catholics. Let us not, then, imagine that we are secure from events of this kind, merely because the Catholic religion is not established here. It was not a zeal for the Calvinistical religion that led the Protestants of Nîmes to commit these acts of barbarity: their knives were pointed, not against Catholics, as such, but as *aristocrats*,

pulled

pulsed Clergy. The parish priests generally followed the example of their bishops in refusing to take their oath. Others were, of course, appointed to replace them. *Talleyrand Perigord*, whom we have seen proposing the assumption of the Church estates, was now become a sort of Pope to the modern Church, and was busily employed laying *unholy hands* on the heads of the new bishops. *Gobet*, one of the four bishops who had forsworn themselves, was rewarded for his apostacy by the bishopric of Paris. Vagabond philosophical abbés, who had never been able to obtain admittance into the priesthood under the old government, were now not only accepted, but sought after. To these were added the secular priests and monks who had apostatized. Even the wretches who had been expelled from their cures, or orders, for irregular or criminal conduct, were now called in from Germany and the Low Countries. What a sight must it be, to those who yet preserved some respect for their religion and their country, to see these strollers, with their strumpets at their heels, returning to take on them the care of the morals and souls of a numerous people! After all, the number of apostates was insufficient: a great many parishes remained without any priest at all.

The instalment of the new priests was commonly, not to say always, attended with tumult and violence. Many of their predecessors were knocked down, stabbed, or shot, at their church doors, the day, or day after, they had refused to conform. The priest of the village of Spet-Saux, while he was explaining to his parishioners his reasons for refusing to take the oath, received a musket-ball in his breast, and tumbled dead from the pulpit into the aisle.

Where there was no resistance but on the part of the priest, an assassination put an end to the struggle:

gle: but, in some places, the resistance was more general. The parishioners were divided; one part the champions of the apostate, and the other those of the old priest. Church-time was the moment for deciding these disputes, and the churchyard the field of action. These affrays were often bloody; victory sometimes leaned to the side of justice; but, as the apostate appeared in person at the head of his troops, as he had the young people generally on his side, and always the mob and municipal officers, with their national guards, he seldom failed to keep the field. Some of these wretches have been seen conducted to the altar to the sound of drums and trumpets, at the very moment when their partisans were murdering on the outside of the church.

The expelling of the parochial Clergy tried the real sentiments of the body of the French people more than any one act of their tyrants ever did, before or since. Generally speaking, the trial was honourable to them; for, if we except Paris, and some other places immediately under the influence of the revolutionary clubs, they wished to retain their ancient pastors, and did not scruple to declare that wish, notwithstanding the vociferations of hundreds of mob in the pay of the Assembly; notwithstanding all those petty assemblies of subaltern tyrants, called municipal officers, who came to order them to receive an apostate *in the name of the law*; notwithstanding thousands of spies and assassins, ever ready to betray and murder them; in spite of all these, whole parishes flocked round their priests, pressed them to continue, followed them to the fields, and left the apostates to say mass to the bare walls. Many of the latter, though they continued to receive the revolutionary salary for upwards of two years, never could boast of above three or four voluntary hearers.

Wherever this obstinate attachment to religion appeared,

appeared, the Assembly knew how to make the refractory feel their authority. True tyrants, they suffered no one to thwart their will with impunity. Property, honour, conscience, all must yield to their sultanic decrees!

Condorcet, the atheist Cordorcet, proposed flagellation; and this was pretty commonly inflicted on the women and children who assisted at the masses of the nonjuring Clergy. The Abbé Barruel (page 79 of the French edition) tells us, that three sisters of one of the charity-houses at Paris expired under the rods of the assassins. Ungrateful monsters! The lives of these women had been totally devoted to the service of the sick, the lame, and the blind. By their vow they were excluded from the pleasures of the world, without being excluded from its pains. They had made a voluntary surrender of all they possessed, had assumed the garb, and submitted to the austerities of the monastic life, in order to devote themselves to the mournful occupation of attending on the poor who laboured under infirmities. It was said, they did this to secure themselves a place in heaven; and most certainly they took the surest way. I feel a reluctance to call such people superstitious; for, if they were so, their superstition was of a most amiable kind, and surely nothing short of the principles of this hellish revolution could have hardened the hearts of men to scourge them to death, and that merely because they would not disgrace themselves by receiving the sacrament from the contaminated hands of an apostate.

It were endless to enumerate all the different sorts of persecution exercised against those who remained attached to their religion. Little children were beaten half to death; the hair and ears of women were cut off; they were mounted on asses, and led about in the most unseemly and shocking guise. The instance of John Cantabel deserves particular

ticular notice. Cantabel was an honest peasant, sincerely attached to the religion of his fathers. He happened to have a little catechism which had been published by the nonjuring Clergy; it was found in his house; and this was a sufficient crime. A committee of municipal officers ordered the catechism to be burnt; a great fire was made; Cantabel was brought forth, and commanded to throw the book into it. "No," says the heroic peasant, "it contains the principles of my religion; it has been my guide and my comfort, and it now gives me the courage to tell you, that I will never commit it to the flames." Upon this he was threatened, but still he remained resolute. One of the ruffians seized a flaming torch, and held it under his hand. "Burn on," said he; "you may burn not only my hand, but my whole body, before I will do any thing to dishonour my religion." He was afterwards mounted on a horse, his back to the head, and the tail in his hand, and was thus conducted about amidst the shouts of the rabble. The vile wretches, when tired with their sport, suffered him to creep home more dead than alive. This is the *liberty of conscience* in the "*Age of Reason!*" This is the *toleration* we might expect from atheists, from those infidel philosophers who are continually exclaiming against the prejudices of their forefathers, and against the sad effects of bigotry and religious zeal. In the cant of these *enlightened* reformers, this peasant was a *fanatic*, an *aristocrat*, a *rebel to the law*, and, as such, they will tell you that he was worthy of death.

Notwithstanding the partial opposition the apostates met with, and the horror their conduct, as well as their ministry, excited in all good minds, they, at last, found themselves in possession of the churches, to the exclusion of the ancient priests. Such of these latter as had escaped death were now
bereft

berest of all means of subsistence; they were therefore obliged to become a charge to their faithful parishioners. Had there been any such things as toleration and liberty under the Constituent Assembly, these unfortunate men might still have found a retreat amongst their wealthy neighbours, that would have left them no reason to regret the loss of their salaries. But the greater part of their wealthy neighbours were already reduced to their own situation, and those who were not, knew that the reception of a nonjuring priest would amount to a proof of *aristocracy*, sufficient to lead them to the guillotine. The expelled priests were then obliged to take shelter in some obscure and miserable cabin; and often was the torture so great, that, like persons infected with the plague, no one would admit them beneath his roof.

From such a state of misery and humiliation some fled in disguise to the countries surrounding France; some to recesses in the forest, whither the peasants of the neighbourhood brought them the means of existence. Numbers, however, still remained in their towns and villages. Seeing the whole country swarming with assassins, they thought, perhaps, they might as well wait the stab in their own parishes as seek it at a distance. Many, too, from age and infirmity, were absolutely incapable of travelling; and, besides, the small remainder of a life so full of bitterness, could not, with such men, be an object of sufficient importance to induce them to abandon those of their parishioners who still sought their advice and consolation. Some were retained by their affection to their relations or their parents; it is so hard to break the bands of nature, to tear one's self from all one holds dear, that the risk of death, in competition with such a separation, loses half its terrors.

The ancient priests who remained in their parishes,
or

or near them, though often obliged to secrete themselves, and though, to appearance, generally shunned, were resorted to by great numbers, particularly of the elderly people. I have already observed, that among the youth there was a pretty general bias toward the apostates. Hence ensued such scenes of division and persecution as no country on earth, except France, ever witnessed. Friends were divided against friends; one branch of a family against another. It often happened that the parents treated their children as apostates, and the children their parents as aristocrats; quarrels and bloodshed were as often the consequences. We have seen (page 93 of this volume) a son cut off the heads of his father and mother, because they refused to attend to the mass of an apostate, carry the heads to his club, and receive applauses for the deed. Acts like these were not frequent; but others, very near approaching it, were not only frequent but general. Sons, and even daughters, have been known to beat and lacerate their parents in the most cruel manner. Hundreds of both sexes have been led to prison, and publicly accused by their children. A man at Faulconberg, in Artois, blew his wife's brains out with his musket, and left her wallowing in her blood on the hearth with seven small children crying round her!

Can any man, with the common feelings of humanity about his heart, contemplate such scenes of horror without execrating the revolution that gave rise to them*?

The

* Many writers (and among others Thomas Paine) have remarked, that the French paid great respect, even a sort of adoration, to old people: if this was the case, which I am by no means inclined to deny, or doubt, what sort of a revolution must that be which has changed this respect and veneration, so justly due to old age, into scorn and contempt, into a merciless brutality, nay, into

The apostate priests failed not to fan the flames of discord and division. To ingratiate themselves with the young and ignorant, they mixed in all their amusements and debauches, treated them at their own houses, and instituted civic festivals for the mob, with whom they were continually surrounded. Their masses were sung amidst the shouts of robbers and murderers, and often interrupted by the arrival of some innocent conscientious person, dragged in to assist at what he looked upon as a profanation. Their churches resembled guard-houses, rather than places of divine worship. In proportion as they perceived themselves neglected and despised, their wrath against their unshaken predecessors increased. Vexed and humiliated to find that all the respectable part of their parishioners took as much pains to avoid them as to seek a communication with their old pastors, the whole weight of their vengeance fell on these latter. In their existence itself they saw a memento of their own infamy. There is not a species of cruelty that the most obdurate can devise which they left untried. They hunted them from their retreats, from the houses of their friends and relations, from the woods and caverns even, to expose them to insult and murder. The infirmities of age, the tears of parents, nothing could soften the hearts of these apostate wretches. We have seen enough of the sufferings of the old Clergy in the first chapter

into parricide. Solon made no law to punish sacrilege or parricide; because, he observed, "the first was as yet unknown in Athens," and the second was so directly against all the feelings of nature, "that he did not believe it could ever be committed."—Poor Solon did not live in the "enlightened eighteenth century," or he would never have talked in this way. If he could but rise from the grave, and listen to our philosophers, they would not only convince him that such actions are possible, but they would tell him they were indispensably necessary to the establishment of a free republican government. Had Solon been at Paris since the revolution, he would have been guillotined for a rank aristocrat.

of this work ; but there is yet one instance which I must quote : “ I was at Trois Rivières (says Le Voyageur de la Revolution), a little village in Picardy : I saw several women running by the inn where I had put up ; they all seemed much alarmed. I asked the landlord what was the matter : he told me that the revolutionary priest, provoked to find that none of the village attended at his mass, had been that morning to Ville d’Eu for a party of national guards, to aid him in driving the former priest from a little cottage where he and his mother had taken shelter. The man gave me a most affecting account of this good priest, who was upwards of fourscore years of age, and who had been the rector of that place for more than fifty years. On the day he was to deliver his cure into the hands of the apostate, he summoned his little flock to meet him in the church for the last time. Not a soul was absent, old or young. The women carried their infants in their arms ; and two old people, not able to walk, were carried on couches. *My children, says the old man, I have pressed your tender hands on the baptismal font : I have sung the requiem for the souls of your fathers : I must now bid you an eternal farewell, deprived of the consolation of leaving my ashes amongst you.*”—Here he ceased ; tears stifled his voice ; the sobs and cries of his audience rendered the scene too much for him. While the landlord was speaking, we heard a discharge of muskets, and a loud shriek of women. We ran to the spot. The peasants of the village, about forty in number, had assembled round the cottage with clubs to defend their pastor ; but, the enemy having fire-arms, they had been obliged to give way, leaving two of their companions dead, and several wounded. I now beheld a sight sufficient to melt the heart of
“ a tiger.

“ a tiger. Two ruffians of the national guard
 “ were dragging out this venerable old man by the
 “ hair of his head, by those locks as white as snow.
 “ He had received a wound in his cheek, from
 “ which the blood ran down on his garments.—In
 “ this situation was he led off, bare-headed and
 “ bare-footed, towards *Ville d'Eu*, while his poor
 “ old parent, who had been many years blind and
 “ dumb, remained on her bed, happily insensible
 “ of the sorrows of her son. As the villains pulled
 “ him along, all the words he was heard to utter,
 “ were, ‘ My mother ! Oh ! my mother ! ’—The
 “ women and children of the village followed the
 “ escort with cries and lamentations, till the sa-
 “ vages drove them back with the points of their
 “ bayonets.”

Nor were those of the laity spared, who resorted to the old Clergy for the exercise of the rites which they looked upon as essential. A new-married couple having refused to have the ceremony performed by one of the apostates, a party of his myrmidons broke in among them on the wedding-night. The husband made his escape : the wife, in a swoon, became the prey of the party. They gratified their brutal passion, without gratifying their ferocity. They tore off her breasts, as a tiger might have done with his claws, and threw them on the floor. They then left her to wait till death relieved her from her horrible situation*.

* See *History of the French Clergy*, page 138.—I cannot help remarking here, that it is something wonderful this History is not more known in America. It is a proof, among hundreds, how locked up we have been to every thing that might lead us to a just estimation of the French revolution. It is true, the greater part of the newspapers have set their faces against truth ; but surely, were the presses free, we ought not to suffer ourselves to be kept in the dark by people, who are, probably, paid for so doing.

I should have scrupled inserting a fact like this, though taken from so respectable a work, if the former part of this volume did not contain others, if possible, surpassing it; I say, if possible; for I declare I know not which is most shocking, the tearing off a woman's breasts, or the ripping a child from her womb, and sticking it on the point of a bayonet. Indeed, the greater part of the facts related here, are so much more shocking and terrific than any thing we have ever before had an idea of, that common murders appear as trifling.

By means like these, the old Clergy and their adherents were extirpated, and religion along with them. The business of the new Clergy (if the wretches deserve the name) was not to establish one church on the ruins of another: it would be as preposterous as to suppose that an assembly of atheists and deists had any such intention, as to suppose that a horde of apostates were calculated for the work. These latter were, in fact, so many missionaries of blasphemy and murder, sent into the provinces purposely to destroy the ancient priesthood. The Assembly foresaw, that when that was done, their new priests would at any time become the apostles of infidelity.

It must be considered, that these legislators did not want for cunning: an elegant writer has lately called them "architects of ruin;" and, indeed, they possessed the art of destroying in its utmost perfection. Their calculations with respect to their new priests were extremely just; they came out to an unit. When they had annihilated their predecessors, they were not only ready to second the decrees for the abolition of Christianity altogether; they were not only instrumental therein, but they had led the way. Several began to teach the religion of *Reason* in the Jacobin clubs, of which they were all members, and even in the pulpit. The
garb

garb of a priest itself became a burden to them, and they humbly asked leave to quit it for the more honourable one of the national guard. The apostate Bishop of Moulin, who had been consecrated by the unhallowed hands of *Talleyrand*, wrote to the Convention, that he officiated with a pike and liberty cap, instead of the crozier and the mitre. It was this vile wretch who first caused to be written on the gate of the burying-ground, "*This is the place of everlasting sleep.*"

Three weeks after this communication of the Bishop of Moulin, *Gobet*, the new Bishop of Paris, with his grand vicars and three other revolutionary bishops, came to the hall of the legislators, and there abdicated Christianity in form. They begged pardon of the injured nation for having so long kept them in the dark, by duping them into a belief of the divinity of an *impostor*, whose religion they now threw off with abhorrence, resolved in future to acknowledge no other deity than *Reason* alone!

It was not more than four days after this, that a Pagan festival was held in the cathedral church of Paris. A woman named Momoro, the wife of another man, but the strumpet of the vile Hebert, *alias* Father Du Chêne, was dressed up as the *Goddess of Reason*. Her throne was of green turf; an altar was erected at some distance, on which the priests burnt incense, while the legislators and the brutified Parisian herd were prostrated before the throne of the goddess *Reason, alias* Momoro, *alias* Du Chêne.

About this epoch appeared the Paganish republican Calendar, with a decree ordering its adoption. This was intended to root from the poor tyrannized people the very memory of religion; to dry up the only source of comfort they had left. They had been robbed of all they possessed in this world, and

their inexorable tyrants wished to rob them of every hope in the next. Some say that this Calendar itself was composed by an apostate priest; others, that it was the work of the writer of farces, named Des Moulins. Whoever may be the author, we know who has the honour of reprinting it, and retailing it in this country.

It is true, the last-mentioned acts, the consummation of the most horrid blasphemy that ever man was witness of, took place under the Convention; but what were they more than a necessary consequence of the measures of the Constituent Assembly? Nay, the leaders in that Assembly boasted, when they had obtained the decree against the non-juring priests, that they had tricked the people out of their religion, before they perceived it. Nor is there at this time one of those who voted for that decree, who will not tell you, that Christianity is a farce, fit only for the amusement of old folks, and that he rejoices in its abolition in France. This is not mere surmise.

Indeed, that their successors have only fulfilled their wishes, in this respect, there can be no doubt, if any judgment of the wishes of men is to be formed from their principles, their words, and their actions. Who, I ask, that wished to preserve religion, would have passed a decree for the expulsion of every priest that refused to forswear himself? Who, that did not wish to destroy religion, would have passed a decree for committing it to the care of apostates? Was it not clear that such men would stick at nothing? that, at the nod of their masters, they would at any time be ready to blaspheme the God they pretended to adore? On the contrary, the Assembly knew that there was no hope of their system taking root, while the ancient Clergy remained in their cures. Among men, who gave up their all, and exposed themselves to almost certain death,

death, rather than falsify their faith, they could not hope to find a *Gobet*. They could not hope to find supple villains that would voluntarily depose the emblems of their religion on the altar of a strumpet, and confess themselves to have been the crafty ministers of an *arch impostor*.

The oath tendered to the Clergy was the touchstone; it was to prove them; to know whom the Assembly could depend on for the accomplishment of their projects, and whom they could not depend on. The enforcing of the oath was the last blow to public religion in France; and therefore the destruction of that religion, with all its immoral and murderous consequences, is due to the Constituent Assembly, and to them alone. It is as nonsensical as unjust to accuse this or that faction, or even the Convention itself, of exchanging Christianity for a system of Paganism; infidels who adore an idol are as good as infidels who adore none; and where is the difference, whether the adored idol be Jean Jacques Rousseau, or Madame Momoro? An adulteress is as good a goddess as an adulterer a god, at any time.

Let the reader now look back, and he will easily trace all the horrors of the French revolution to the decrees of the Constituent Assembly. It was they that rent the Government to pieces; it was they that first broached the destructive doctrine of equality; it was they that destroyed all ideas of private property; and finally, it was they that rendered the people hardened, by effacing from their minds every principle of the only religion capable of keeping mankind within the bounds of justice and humanity. Look also at their particular actions, and you will see them breaking their oaths to their constituents and to their King; you will see their agents driving people from their estates, beating and killing them; you will see them surrounded

with a set of hireling writers and assassins, employed to degrade and murder peaceful people attached to the religion of their forefathers; and you will see them not only pardoning murderers, in spite of their poor humiliated Monarch, but even receiving the assassins at their bar, covering them with applauses, and instituting festivals in their honour. What have the members of the Convention and their agents done more than this? They have murdered in greater numbers. True; but what have numbers to do with the matter? The principle on which those murders were committed was ever the same: it was more or less active as occasion required. The wants of the Convention were more pressing than those of the Constituent Assembly. The Assembly were not driven to the expedient of *requisitions*, nor was the hour yet arrived for the promulgation of the Paganish Calendar. Consequently they met with less opposition, and therefore fewer murders were necessary; but, had they continued their sittings to this day, the devastation of every kind would have been the same that it has been.

The whole history of the revolution presents us with nothing but a regular progress in robbery and murder. The first Assembly, for instance, begin by flattering the mob, wheedling their King out of his title and his power; they then set him at defiance, proscribe or put to death his friends; and then shut him up in his palace, as a wild beast in a cage. The second Assembly send a gang of ruffians to insult and revile him, and then they hurl him from his throne. The third Assembly cut his throat. What is there in all this but a regular and natural progression from bad to worse? And so with the rest of their abominable actions.

To throw the blame on the successors of the first despotic Assembly is such a perversion of reason,
such

such an abandonment of truth, that no man, who has a single grain of sense, can hear of with patience. As well might we ascribe all the murders committed at Nantz to the under-cut-throats, by whom they were perpetrated, and not to the Convention, by whose order, and under whose protection, these cut-throats acted. The Constituent Assembly knew the consequences of their decrees, as well as Foucault (*see page 116*) knew the consequence of his order for throwing forty women from the cliff Pierre Moine into the sea; and it is full as ridiculous to hear them pretend that they did not wish those consequences to follow, as it would be to hear Foucault pretend that he did not wish the forty women should be drowned. True, the Convention are guilty of every crime under heaven; assassins and blasphemers must ever merit detestation and abhorrence, from whatever motive they may act, or by whomsoever taught and instigated; but still the pre-eminence in infamy is due to their teachers and instigators: the Convention is, in relation to the Constituent Assembly, what the ignorant desperate bravo is in relation to his crafty and sculking employer.

Before I conclude, it may not be improper, as I have hitherto spoken of the Constituent Assembly in a general way, to make some distinctions with respect to the persons who composed it. I am very far from holding them all up as objects of abhorrence, or even of censure. There were many, very many, men of great wisdom and virtue, who were elected to the States-General, and even who joined the Assembly, after it assumed the epithet *National*. It would be the height of injustice to reproach these men with the consequences of measures, which they opposed with such uncommon eloquence and courage. History will make honourable mention of their names, when the epitome I have here attempted will

will be lost and forgotten. Suffice it then to say, that the weight of our censure, of the censure of all just and good men, ought to fall on those licentious politicians and infidel philosophers alone, who sanctioned the decree for the annihilation of property and religion.

Here, too, we ought to divest ourselves of every thing of a personal or party nature, and direct our abhorrence to principles alone. As to the actors, they have, in general, already expiated their wickedness or folly by the loss of their lives. We have seen the atheist Condorcet obliged to fly in disguise from the capital, the inhabitants of which he had corrupted, and by whom he had been adored as the great luminary of the age: we have seen him assume the garb and the supplicating tone of a common beggar, lurking in the lanes and woods, like a houseless thief, and, at last, literally dying in a ditch, leaving his carcass a prey to the fowls of the air, and his memory as a lesson to future apostles of anarchy and blasphemy. Scores, not to say hundreds, of his coadjutors have shared a fate little different from his own; and those who have not, can have little reason to congratulate themselves on their escape. The tornado they have raised for the destruction of others, has swept them from the seat of their tyranny, and scattered them over every corner of the earth. Those haughty usurpers, who refused the precedence to the successors of Charlemagne, are now obliged to yield it to a peasant or a porter. Those who decreed that the "folding-doors of the Louvre should fly open at their approach," are now glad to lift the latch of a wicket, and bend their heads beneath the thatch of a cabin. And what language can express the vexation, the anguish, the cutting reflections, that must be the companions of their obscurity! When they look back on their distracted country, when they behold
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the widows, the orphans, the thousands and hundreds of thousands of murdered victims, that it presents ; when they behold the frantic people, carrying the dagger to the hearts of their parents, nay, digging their forefathers from their graves, and throwing their ashes to the winds ; when they behold all this, and reflect that it is the work of their own hands, well might they call on the hills to hide them. The torments of such an existence, who can bear ? Next to the wrath of Heaven, the malediction of one's country is surely the most tremendous and insupportable.

Now, what is the advantage we ought to derive from the awful example before us ? It ought to produce in us a watchfulness, and a steady resolution to oppose the advances of disorganizing and infidel principles. I am aware that it will be said by some, that all fear of the progress of these principles is imaginary ; but constant observation assures me that it is but too well founded. Let any man examine the change in political and religious opinions since the establishment of the general government, and particularly the change crept in along with our silly admiration of the French revolution, and see if the result of his inquiries does not justify a fear of our falling under the scourge that has brought a happy and gallant people on their knees, and left them bleeding at every pore.

Unfortunately for America, Great Britain has thrown from her the principles of the French revolutionists with indignation and abhorrence. This, which one would imagine should have had little or no influence on us, has served, in some measure, as a guide to our opinions, and has been one of the principal motives for our actions. A combination of circumstances, such as, perhaps, never before met together, has so fouled the minds of the great mass of the people in this country, has worked up
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their hatred against Great Britain to such a pitch, that the instant that nation is named, they lose not only their temper, but their reason also. The dictates of nature and the exercise of judgment are thrown aside: whatever the British adopt must be rejected, and whatever they reject must be adopted. Hence it is, that all the execrable acts of the French legislators, not forgetting their murders and their blasphemy, have met with the most unqualified applauses, merely because they were execrated in the island of Britain.

The word *Republic* has also done a great deal. France is a *republic*, and the decrees of the Legislators were necessary to maintain it a republic. This word outweighs, in the estimation of some persons (I wish I could say they were few in number), all the horrors that have been, and that can be committed in that country. One of these modern republicans will tell you that he does not deny that hundreds of thousands of innocent persons have been murdered in France; that the people have neither religion nor morals; that all the ties of nature are rent asunder; that the rising generation will be a race of cut-throats; that poverty and famine stalk forth at large; that the nation is half depopulated; that its riches, along with millions of the best of the people, are gone to enrich and aggrandize its enemies; that its commerce, its manufactures, its sciences, its arts, and its honour, are no more; but at the end of all this, he will tell you that it must be happy, because it is a *republic*. I have heard more than one of these republican zealots declare, that he would sooner see the last of the French exterminated, than see them adopt any other form of government. Such a sentiment is characteristic of a mind locked up in savage ignorance; and I would no more trust my throat within the reach of such a republican, than I would within that

that of a Louvet, a Gregoire, or any of their colleagues.

Our enlightened philosophers run on in a fine canting strain about the bigotry and ignorance of their ancestors ; but I would ask them, what more stupid doltish bigotry can there be, than to make the sound of a word the standard of good or bad government ? What is there in the combination of the letters which make up the word *Republic* ? what is there in the sound they produce, that the bellowing of it forth should compensate for the want of every virtue, and even for common sense and common honesty ? It is synonymous with liberty.—Fatal error ! In the mouth of a turbulent demagogue it is synonymous with liberty, and with every thing else, that will please its hearers, but, with the man of virtue and sense, has no more than its literal value ; that is, it means of itself neither good nor evil. If he calls our own Government that of a *republic*, and judge of the meaning of the word by the effects of that Government, it will admit of a most amiable interpretation ; but if we are to judge of it by what it has produced in France, it means all that is ruinous, tyrannical, blasphemous, and bloody. Last winter, one of these republican heroes in Congress, accused a gentleman from New-England of having adopted *anti-republican* principles, because he proposed something that seemed to militate *against negro-slavery* !—Thus, then, republicanisin did not mean liberty. In short, it means any thing : 'it is the watch-word of faction ; and if ever our happy and excellently constituted republic should be overturned, it will be done under the mask of republicanism.

Let us, then, be upon our guard ; let us look to the characters and actions of men, and not to their professions ; let us attach ourselves to things, and not to words ; to sense, and not to sound. Should the day of *requisition* and *murder* arrive, our tyrants
calling

calling themselves republicans, will be but a poor consolation to us. The loss of property, the pressure of want and beggary, will not be less real because flowing from republican decrees. Hunger pinches the republican, the cold blast cramps his joints as well as those of other men. This word does not soften the pangs of death. The keen knife will not produce a delectable sensation, because drawn across the throat by a republican; nor will the word *republican* parry a bullet, or render a flaming fire a bed of down. When Monsieur Bérthier had the ghastly head of his father pressed against his lips, when his own heart was afterwards torn from his living body, and placed, all reeking and palpitating, on a table before a committee of magistrates, the agonies of his mind, and of his mangled carcass, were not assuaged by the shouts of his republican murderers.

Shall we say that these things never can take place among us? Because we have hitherto preserved the character of a pacific humane people, shall we set danger at defiance? Though we are not Frenchmen, we are men as well as they; and consequently are liable to be misled, and even to be sunk to the lowest degree of brutality, as they have been. They, too, had an amiable character: what character have they now? The same principles brought into action among us would produce the same degradation. I repeat, we are not what we were before the French revolution. Political projectors from every corner of Europe, troublers of society of every description, from the whining philosophical hypocrite to the daring rebel, and more daring blasphemer, have taken shelter in these States. Will it be pretended that the principles and passions of these men have changed with the change of air? It would be folly to suppose it.

Nor.

Nor are men of the same stamp wanting among the native Americans. There is not a single action of the French revolutionists, but has been justified and applauded in our public papers, and many of them in our public assemblies. Anarchy has its open advocates. The divine Author of our religion has been put upon a level with the infamous Marat. We have seen a clergyman of the episcopal church publicly abused, because he had recommended to his congregation to beware of the atheistical principles of the French. Even their Calendar, the frivolous offspring of infidelity, is proposed for our imitation. Where persons whose livelihood depends on their daily publication are to be found, who are ever ready to publish articles of this nature, it were the grossest folly not to believe that there are hundreds and thousands to whom they give pleasure*. But we are not left to mere surmise here. How many numerous companies have issued, under the form of toasts, sentiments offensive to humanity, and disgraceful to our national character? We have seen the *guillotine* toasted to three times three cheers, and even under the discharge of cannon. If drunken men, as is usually the case, speak from the bottom of their hearts, what quarter should we have to expect from wretches like these? It must be allowed, too, that where the cannons were fired to give eclat to such a sentiment, the convives were not of the most despicable class. And what would the reader say, were I to tell him of a Member of Congress, who

* It is a truth that no one will deny, that the newspapers of this country have become its scourge. I speak with a few exceptions. It is said that they enlighten the people; but their light is like the torch of an incendiary, and the one has the same destructive effect on the mind as the other has on matter. The whole study of the editors seems to be to deceive and confound. One would almost think they were hired by some malicious demon, to turn the brains and corrupt the hearts of their readers.

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wished to see one of these murderous machines employed for lopping off the heads of the French, permanent in the State-house yard of the city of Philadelphia?

If these men of blood had succeeded in plunging us into a war; if they had once got the sword into their hands, they would have mowed us down like stubble. The word *Aristocrat* would have been employed to as good account here, as ever it had been in France. We might, ere this, have seen our places of worship turned into stables; we might have seen the banks of the Delaware, like those of the Loire, covered with human carcases, and its waters tinged with blood: ere this we might have seen our parents butchered, and even the head of our admired and beloved President rolling on a scaffold.

I know the reader will start back with horror. His heart will tell him that it is impossible. But, once more, let him look at the example before us. The man who in 1788 should have predicted the fate of the last humane and truly patriotic Louis, would have been treated as a wretch or a madman. The attacks on the character and conduct of the aged *Washington*, have been as bold, if not bolder, than those which led to the downfall of the unfortunate French Monarch. His impudent and ferocious enemies have represented him as cankered with every vice that marks a worthless tyrant: they have called him the betrayer of the liberties of his country, and have even drawn up and published *articles of accusation* against him! Can it then be imagined, that, had they possessed the power, they wanted the will to dip their hands in his blood? I am fully assured that these wretches do not make a hundred thousandth part of the people of the Union: the name of *Washington* is as dear and dearer to all the moderate Whigs, than it ever was. But of what consequence is their affection to him, of what avail to themselves,

themselves, if they suffer him to be thus treated, without making one single effort to defeat the project of his infamous traducers? It is not for me to dictate the method of doing this: but sure I am, that had the friends of virtue and order shown only a hundredth part of the zeal in the cause of their own country, as the enemies of both have done in the cause of France, we should not now have to lament the existence of a hardened and impious faction, whose destructive principles, if not timely and firmly opposed, may one day render the annals of America as disgraceful as those of the French revolution.

ADDITIONAL FACTS.

Extracts from "The Banditti Unmasked; or, Historical Memoirs of the present Times:" by General Danican.

Pages 25, 26.

THE Military Commission sent the municipal officers of Laval, without apprizing me of their intention, to the Pont de Cé, whither they conducted, at the same time, *fifty cartloads* of nuns, priests, suspected persons, federalists, and *men of property*, who were all guillotined, drowned, or shot. The forty municipal officers were included in this infernal expedition, by the order of one MILLIERE, who had been a member of the Parisian commune during the massacres of September, and who was now a member of the Military Commission. This act of barbarity developed all the germs of insurrection, and the children swore to avenge the death of their fathers. This same MILLIERE, who resides at

Paris, in the section of the Bonnet-Rouge (*Red-Cap*), absolutely insisted on having a hundred and thirty-two inhabitants of Nantz, whom *Carrier* had sent to *Francaſtel*, shot at Angers; he came to me several times on this business, desired I would cause them to be searched, and even urged me to search them myself, "Because," said he, "they are too rich, and may corrupt the garrison." He made twenty applications to me for troops to shoot them, observing, that during a siege, such operations were mere matters of course, &c. &c. I devised a thousand pretexts for refusing to comply with his commands, and God knows what stratagems I was obliged to employ, in order to avert the fatal blow.

During the siege of Angers, Milliere and his accomplices caused *three or four thousand* Frenchmen to be put to death at the Pont de C  , and among the number was my landlord. The witnesses to these horrors were Hortode, Clerk to the Committee of War; Christophe, a Captain in the 8th regiment of hussars; and La Croix, Adjutant-general, now attached to the Parisian staff, who was the man that conveyed to Laval the municipal officers that were drowned by the order of Milliere.

Page 27.—It is a certain fact, that a soldier of Marat's Company, who was employed on these expeditions, proposed to save a young girl on *certain conditions*; but the virtuous victim turned from him with disdain, and pressing close to her mother, accompanied her in the fatal boat.

Francaſtel caused full as many to be drowned at Angers as *Carrier* did at Nantz; and this little monster is still suffered to exist, and calls himself a patriot of 89! One *Vial*, Procureur Syndic in the department of Angers, told *Francaſtel* in my presence, that he had just found two confidential seamen, who would drown the priests that were at Montjean.

Page 37.—General Parrien was an useful actor on the
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the revolutionary stage. He was posted at Marseilles to massacre the prisoners from Orleans. On the second of September he presided at one of the tribunals in the prisons of Paris; he was afterwards president of the Military Commission at Saumur, and was called to that at Lyons by his friend *Collot d'Herbois*, who, delighted with his services, transformed the Judge into a *General of Division*. On the pretended return of the reign of justice, he was dismissed and imprisoned at Pleffis. He rose again on the holy day of vengeance (in October, 1795, when he acted as General for the Convention, when they ordered the troops to fire on the people for daring to assert the right of choosing their own representatives), and has recently availed himself of the amnesty, together with a great number of personages of equal worth and integrity. This patriot of 89 has put to death upwards of *six thousand* Frenchmen, and was the associate of *Milliere* in La Vendée.

Page 70.—Depopulation was at that time (in 1794) the order of the day, and *Carnot* displayed his judgment in the choice of General *Vachot*. The only qualification requisite to form a good *sans-culotte* General, was to know how to massacre. Thus the *brave* and celebrated *Rossignol*, successor to General *Biron*, after having promised, at the bar of the Convention, to purge La Vendée in a fortnight, completely succeeded in exterminating, in less than three months, *one hundred thousand men* of both parties.

Page 84.—While *Carrier* drowned 20,000 victims; while *Prieur* caused the federalists of Brest to be guillotined (and, among others, the father of General *Moreau*, on the very day on which the son took the fort of Sluys); while *Barras* and *Freron* demolished Toulon, and shot 800 of our sailors and naval officers; a madman named *La Planche*, formerly a Benedictine monk, represented at Caen,

Tiberius in a state of delirium: on his arrival in that city, he perceived a consternation on every countenance, occasioned by the guillotine, and particularly by the presence of a Deputy. "What means," said he, "this aristocratic terror that I observe? I order "a civic promenade, and, this evening, I shall give "a republican ball; I shall consider all those who "shall fail to attend as aristocrats." The promenade began at ten in the morning; *La Planche* took the lead, followed by the whole population of Caen; and, from time to time, halted, and kneeling on the ground, addressed an invocation to *Marat*, to whom he made a preparatory offering of the heads of several persons whom he caused to be tried and condemned. In the very middle of the town *La Planche* exclaimed, with uplifted hands, *O great Marat!* The people who followed in his train eagerly re-echoed *O great Marat!* At the civic ball in the evening, he played with women's necks, observing, that their bosoms were aristocrats that sunk beneath the hand of a republican; and he compelled many of these unhappy beings to dance with him, while their husbands and their fathers were lingering in prison.

In October, 1793, in obedience to the decrees of the National Convention, the whole country of *La Vendée* was set fire to, and even the patriotic districts were not spared. Each column was preceded by fire and sword, by the aid of which an universal destruction was effected, without distinction of age or sex. An immense population fled before the republicans, in order to escape the fury of the flames, and joined the Catholic army, which was forced to pass the Loire at St. Florent. Let those who are endued with sensibility represent to their imaginations more than a hundred thousand French, men, women, and children, casting their eyes, in despair, on a tract of country twenty leagues in circumference, where their houses and cottages were in a state
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of conflagration, and having but a few moments to escape from certain death.

Pages 171, 172.—*Lepelletier Brutus, Beaurepaire Magner* (the pompous name assumed by the President of a Revolutionary Tribunal at Rennes), breakfasting, on Good-Friday, with his colleagues, said to them, " Brothers and friends, we must put " to death this day, at the same hour at which the " counter-revolutionist Jesus died, that young devotee who was lately arrested." An order was immediately signed for bringing her before him. The gaoler made a mistake, and sent him a girl of the town, whom the Judges proceeded to question on her fanaticism, on the relics, the agnuses, and the chaplets that were found upon her when she was arrested; and on her predilection for refractory priests. The girl did not understand what they meant, and began to laugh; upon which the clerk was told to write down, "*That she did not deign to answer, and that she treated the Tribunal with contempt.*" They were about to pronounce sentence of death upon her, when the girl exclaimed with all her might, that she was no devotee, and that she had been put in prison for debauching and infecting a battalion of volunteers. *Brutus* knitted his brows, and thought it was a subterfuge. The girl, in alarm, had recourse to an indecent gesture, and was going to show *the truth*, as she called it, when the Judges, perceiving their mistake, sent her back to prison, and ordered the true devotee to be brought before them, whom they arraigned to the scaffold, agreeably to a determination which they had formed while they were eating their breakfast. *This fact is known to the whole town of Rennes.* The battalion of young children, in the same place, was employed to shoot the Chouans; *Dubois Crancé* started the idea, in order, as he said, to accustom youths to *republican firmness*. No man dares deny this.—I was at
Rennes

Rennes at the time, and the Deputy *Alquier* no doubt recollects my observation upon the subject. I take a pleasure in declaring that I found him to possess some sensibility. He repeatedly said to me, with tears in his eyes, in his own apartment, "*You say too much, my dear Danican; you will bring yourself to the guillotine.*" The Deputy *Alquier* was terribly afraid on his own account.

Page 177.—It was under the command of that miscreant (General *Turreau de la Liniere*), that the soldiers carried children on the points of their bayonets: I saw the original orders by which M. *Turreau* prescribed *universal massacre*, and yet M. *Turreau* has just been acquitted, and is now employed by the Directory, who call such men as M. *Turreau de la Liniere*, energetic republicans.

Page 193.—That I may not be accused of always speaking *ab irato*, I shall quote *Vial's* book on La Vendée. This man, as I before observed, was a revolutionist and a drowner, but having quarrelled with his colleagues, he denounced them.

Page 130.—"On the 23d Ventose, *Turreau* arrived at *Châlennes*; the next day he burnt the possessions of the patriots, and caused several women and children to be shot; I escaped with the destruction of a farm."—Again,

Page 78.—"Of *twenty thousand* persons who were shot in the department of Maine and Loire, it is proved by five sentences, now before me, that five hundred and ninety were not dead in law (*hors la loi*); seventy-nine were executed on the 3d Nivose; seventy-five on the 4th; two hundred and thirty-three on the 6th; one hundred and five on the 23d; and ninety-nine on the 26th Germinal." A *very great number of children* were included in these five sentences.

Francaftel, in his letter on the establishment of the Military Commission, says, "That so long as
" there

“ there exist great criminals, or federalists in these
 “ countries, the ordinary tribunals ought not to
 “ act.”—Vial, addressing himself to the popular
 club at Angers, observes, “ You all know, citizens,
 “ that more than two thousand women and children
 “ have been assassinated in this infamous manner.”
 Vacheron and Morin, members of that detestable
 commission, drew up the lists. Two women ob-
 served to Obrumier, “ That they had only been ar-
 “ rested as suspected persons ; but, notwithstanding
 “ this, he ordered them to be shot, with seventy
 “ other females. When any of these unhappy be-
 “ ings were observed to breathe, after they had been
 “ shot, the humane Goupil plunged his sabre into
 “ their bellies.” The citizens of Angers deposed,
 “ That they saw all these victims pass by their
 “ doors, accompanied by music playing patriotic
 “ tunes ; that they observed girls of fifteen and six-
 “ teen, doubly interesting by their beauty and their
 “ youth, embracing the knees of their execution-
 “ ers, and entreating them to spare their lives ; and
 “ that every body (even the troops) shed tears, ex-
 “ cept the monsters of the Military Commission,
 “ who had the barbarity to insult the sensibility of
 “ the people.”

Page 127.—The members of this commission
 were Antoine Felix, President, and successor to
 Parrein ; François Milliere ; François Le Port ;
 Jacques Hudoux ; Joseph Rouffel ; Marie Obru-
 mier ; Gabriel Goupil ; and Loifillon. All these
 men are alive and well. Long live Justice and the
 Directory ! *Bon jour CARNOT !*

Pages 209, 210.—Yes, conquering people ! *twen-
 ty towns, and eighteen hundred villages, or hamlets,
 have been burned by you !* And your glory and your
 laurels have cost you *three millions of men.* These
 afflicting truths cannot be repeated too often, there
 are so many persons who do not believe them.

For instance, what people in Europe do not take for a fable, the establishment of a tanyard at Meudon, for *tanning human skins*? It cannot, however, be forgotten, that a man came to the bar of the Convention to announce the discovery of a new and simple mean for procuring leather in abundance; that the Committee of Public Safety (Carnot's* Committee) assigned him a convenient place for the execution of his plan, at the Castle of Meudon, the gates of which were kept constantly shut; and lastly, that *Barrere, Vadier*, and others, were the first who wore *boots made of human skin*. *Robespierre* did not flay his people *figuratively*; and as Paris supplied the army with shoes, it is possible that more than one defender of the country may have worn shoes made of the skin of his friends and relations. This will appear pleasant and incredible to certain *miscreants*, and particularly to the Propagandists.

National Convention, a tanyard was established at Meudon, for *tanning human skins*, and France was indebted to your existence for a conception so monstrous!

Page 212.—The troops who went from Holland to Brittany committed every species of crime on their march; and, in the neighbourhood of Rouen, they literally *broiled* the feet of a peasant, in order to extort a discovery of his money. I sent forty regular depositions on this subject to the Staff, and to the terrorist *Pille*. These were the same troops who attempted to kill the coxcombs (*muscadins*) at Rouen, and who drew their sabres on men for wearing their hair in a club. The vigorous means which I adopted prevented them from putting their threats in execution; but they made themselves am-

* Carnot is one of the present Directors in France!!! 1797,

ple amends for the disappointment, at the theatre at Caen, under the auspices of General *Dubayet*.

Pages 230, 231, 232.—*The most signal banditti of the Convention were the very heroes whom the Convention extolled.* *Maignet* reduced *Bedouin* to ashes, and caused the inhabitants to be massacred. *Carpentier*, a bailiff of *Valognes*, committed a million of crimes at *St. Malo*; he stripped all the vessels, plundered the houses of private persons, sent the most opulent merchants and the most virtuous fathers of families, to *Fouquier Tinville*, and openly preached pillage to the popular clubs. *Turreau*, during fifteen months the accomplice of *Bourbotte* and the burner of *La Vendée*, which he termed the *grand illumination*, wantonly consumed by fire one of the suburbs of *Saumur*, when the enemy were twenty leagues from the place; and at *Laval* gave me an order to put the sick to death in their beds. The order was solicited by one *Baleguier*, who delivered to me a copy of the deliberations, which is now in my possession. This *Turreau* also made his cousin, *Turreau de Grambouville et de Liniere*, a General and Burner in Chief. *Barras* and *Freron*, the grand desolaters of the South, where they were on mission with the worthy patriots *Ricard*, *Salicetti*, *Robespierre junior*, and *Gaston*, wanted to level *Marseilles* with the ground, and bestowed on it the appellation of the *Nameless*. At *Toulon* they put in requisition 1200 demolishers, and caused upwards of two thousand persons to be shot and guillotined. That impostor *Jambon St. André*, on his return to *Brest* after the naval action of the first of June, 1794, suffered the people to strew flowers upon his head, and made a report replete with falsehoods. *Ricard*, *Choudieu*, *Garnier de Xaintes*, and *Levassour de la Sarthe*, were the accusers and assassins of *Philippeaux*; the two first had the insolence to pronounce a panegyric on the ferocious and cowardly *Rossignol*.
Prieur

Prieur de la Marne, a madman, perpetually drunk, excited an insurrection in Morbihan, in concert with a General Canuel, who rode over the bodies of the Chouans that were shot at Vannes; while at Joffelin, one Battéux, a cook and commissary, delegated by Carrier and Prieur, made their victims dig the graves which they were destined to fill. The whole commune of Brest went to denounce Prieur at the bar of the Convention. During the siege of Angers he put to death a prodigious number of women and girls, who were arrested in the suburbs: after he had examined them and treated them with every mark of ridicule and contempt, he ordered them to be sent to *the Hospital*, as he called it, and they were shot at the water-side. The soldiers laughed while they executed these orders, and stripped the bodies.

A Madame de Civrac, an abbess, was taken before Francastel and Prieur; she had a faithful servant with her, who refused to quit her; they were accordingly both guillotined at Angers. This lady was at least eighty years of age. Francastel caused several persons to be drowned, even after the death of Robespierre. At Savenay, Prieur caused *twelve hundred peasants*, who had laid down their arms, to be shot; after he had put them all together in a church, he ordered a republican column to halt, and the Chief of Brigade Carbon was entrusted with the direction of the massacre. This Carbon must still be at Loudéac, where he informed me of the circumstance at a time when he was under my command. At Noirmoutier, *fifteen hundred prisoners of war were shot*. It was there that the brave and virtuous D'Elbéc perished, with several other officers of merit. At Mans, all the women that could be found were put to death. At Laval, nine months after all these massacres, I had the good fortune to save the life of a young girl of Maulevrier; who, at
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the massacre at Mans, had received the last sighs of her mother, on the high road, after which she had lived six months in the woods.

Page 241.—In the action on the 5th of August, 1793, at Doué the vanguard took seventy-nine prisoners, who were conveyed to the tower at Saumur, whither I had occasion to go a few days after, to see some hussars of my own regiment, who were in prison there. Having expressed a wish to see the Vendéan prisoners, I was taken to the bottom of a large tower, where, among a heap of dying persons, *I saw one man actually dead*, and another expiring at his side. I fell down myself, nearly suffocated by the mephitical vapours, and they were obliged to carry me from the place. I sent for the man who seemed to be dying, and gave him some broth, which revived him, and he afterwards recovered.

Soon after I left Saumur, *Levasseur* de la Sarthe arrived there. His first operation was to order the prisoners to be tied together in pairs, for the purpose, as he said, of transferring them to another place; but he gave secret orders to have them put to death, and his orders were obeyed. From Saumur to Orleans, bands of fifty, sixty, and even a hundred, were drowned or shot at one time; and the conductors, *Mogue* and *Petit*, put the allowance of these unhappy men in their own pockets. *Levasseur* openly boasted of this expedition in the cave at the Thuilleries. (See the sitting of the 1st Nivôse, in the 2d year.)

Interrogate the civil authorities at Blois, and the keeper of the prison at Saumur, on these facts.—On that day, 1st Nivôse, *Lequinio* wrote to the Convention, to inform them that he had blown out the brains of two prisoners at Fontenai le Peuple, and that he had just caused five hundred to be shot.—(See the *Moniteur*.) This *Lequinio* has written a history of La Vendée, in which he denounces as assassins

passins all those generals whom the Directory have since employed again. I declare that the Vendéans took upwards of thirty thousand prisoners, whom they released after shaving their heads; and that they committed no acts of cruelty until the republicans had set the example, by massacring their rich, throwing them into the flames, &c.

On the 15th of July, 1793, at the battle of *Martigné*, the cowardly and ferocious stroller *Grammont* cut to pieces three prisoners who were tied together in the Castle of Felines. The Generals of the western army were, as I have before observed, renegadoes, monks, constitutional priests, mountebanks, opera dancers, and blackguards of every description.

The succeeding Extracts are selected from a Work recently published, entitled, "A Residence in France, during the Years 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795, described in a Series of Letters from an English Lady." 2 vols. 8vo.

Vol. ii. Page 14.—The whole town of Bedouin, in the South of France, was burnt pursuant to a decree of the Convention, to expiate the imprudence of some of its inhabitants in having cut down a dead tree of liberty. Above sixty people were guillotined as accomplices; and their bodies thrown into pits, dug by order of the Representative Maignet, then on mission, before their death. These executions were succeeded by a conflagration of all the houses, and the imprisonment or dispersion of their possessors. It is likewise worthy of remark, that many of these last were obliged, by express order of Maignet, to be spectators of the murder of their friends and relations.

Pages 55, 56.—The following is the Copy of a Letter

Letter addressed to the Mayor of Paris, by a Commissary of the Government at Angers:

“ You will give us pleasure by transmitting the
 “ details of your fête at Paris last decade, with the
 “ hymns that were sung. Here we all cried, ‘ *Vive*
 “ *la République !* ’ as we ever do, when our holy mo-
 “ ther Guillotine is at work. Within these three
 “ days she has shaved eleven priests, one *ci-devant*
 “ noble, a nun, a general, and a superb English-
 “ man, six feet high; and as he was too tall by a
 “ head, we have put that into a sack. At the same
 “ time eight hundred rebels were shot at the Pont
 “ de Cé, and their carcases thrown into the Loire !
 “ I understand the army is on the track of the run-
 “ aways. All we overtake we shoot on the spot,
 “ and in such numbers that the ways are heaped
 “ with them.”

About this time a woman who sold newspapers, and the printer of them, were guillotined for paragraphs deemed *inciviques*.

Page 100.—A farmer was guillotined, because some blades of corn appeared growing in one of his ponds; from which circumstance it was inferred that he had thrown in a large quantity, in order to promote a scarcity; though it was substantially proved on his trial, that at the preceding harvest the grain of an adjoining field had been got in during a high wind, and that in all probability some scattered ears which reached the water had produced what was deemed sufficient testimony to convict him. Another underwent the same punishment for pursuing his usual course of tillage, and growing part of his ground with lucerne, instead of devoting the whole to wheat.

Pages 121, 122, 123.—I have already noticed the cruel and ferocious temper of Le Bon, and the massacres of his tribunals are already well known. I will only add some circumstances which not only
 may

may be considered as characteristic of this tyrant, but of the times, and I fear I may add, of the people, who suffered and even applauded them. They are selected from many others not susceptible of being described in language fit for an English reader.

Being one day amusing himself, as usual, with a sight of the *guillotine*, where several had already suffered, one of the victims having, from a very natural emotion, averted his eyes, while he placed his body in the posture required, the executioner perceived it, and going to the sack which contained the heads of those just sacrificed, took one out, and with the most horrid imprecations obliged the unhappy wretch to kiss it: yet Le Bon not only permitted, but sanctioned this, by dining daily with the hangman. He was afterwards reproached with this familiarity in the Convention, but defended himself by saying—"A similar act of Lequinio's was inserted by your orders in the bulletin with honourable mention, and your decrees have invariably conferred the principles on which I acted." They all felt for a moment the dominion of conscience, and were silent. On another occasion, he suspended an execution, while the savages, whom he kept in pay, threw dirt on the prisoners, and insulted them previous to their suffering.

When any of his colleagues passed through Arras, he always proposed their joining with him in a "*partie de guillotine*;" and the executions were perpetrated in a small square at Arras, rather than in the great one, that himself, his wife and relations, might more commodiously enjoy the spectacle from the balcony of the theatre, where they took their coffee, attended by a band of music, which played while this human butchery lasted.

The Convention, the Committees, all France, were well acquainted with the conduct of Le Bon. He himself began to fear he might have exceeded the limits

limits of his commission ; and upon communicating some scruples of this kind to his employers, received the following letters, which, though they do not exculpate him, certainly render the Committee of Public Welfare more criminal than himself.

“ CITIZEN,

“ The Committee of Public Welfare approve the measures you have adopted, at the same time that they deem the warrant which you solicit to be unnecessary ; such measures being not only allowable, but enjoined by the very nature of your mission. No consideration ought to stand in the way of your revolutionary progress. Give free scope therefore to your energy ; the powers you are invested with are unlimited, and *whatever* you may deem conducive to the public good, you are free, you are even called upon by duty, to carry into execution without delay. We here transmit you an order of the Committee, by which your powers are extended to the neighbouring departments. Armed with such means, and with your energy, you will go on to confound the enemies of the Republic, with the very schemes they have projected for its destruction.

“ CARNOT.

“ BARRERE.

“ R. LINDET.”

Extract from another Letter, signed Billaud-Varennes, Carnot, and Barrere.

“ There is no commutation for offences against a republic. Death alone can expiate them ! Pursue the traitors with fire and sword ; and continue to march with courage in the revolutionary track you have described.”

Page 176.—So late as the 7th Thermidor (July 25), Barrere made a pompous eulogium on Robespierre, and in a long account on the state of the country, he acknowledges that “ some little clouds “ hang over the political horizon, but they will soon

“ be dispersed, by the union which subsists in the
 “ Committees; above all, by a more speedy trial
 “ and execution of revolutionary criminals.” It is
 difficult to imagine what new means of dispatch this
 airy barbarian had contrived; for, in the six months
 preceding this harangue, *twelve hundred and fifty*
 had been guillotined in Paris *alone*.

Page 158.—It was Tallien’s boast to have guillo-
 timed none but aristocrats; and of this part of his
 merit I am willing to leave him in possession. At
 Toulon he was charged with the punishment of those
 who had given up the town to the English; but
 finding, as he alleged, nearly all the inhabitants
 involved, he selected about two hundred of the
 richest; and, that the horrid business might wear an
 appearance of regularity, the *patriots*, that is, the
 most notorious *Jacobins*, were ordered to give their
 opinion on the guilt of these victims, who were
 brought out into an open field for that purpose.
 With such judges the sentence was soon passed, and a
fusillade took place on the spot. It was on this occa-
 sion that Tallien made particular boast of his huma-
 nity; and in the same publication wherein he relates
 the circumstance, he exposes the *atrocious conduct* of
 the English at Toulon. The cruelty of these barba-
 rians not being sufficiently gratified by dispatching
 their victims the shortest way, they hung up many
 of them by their chins, on hooks at the shambles,
 and left them to die at their leisure. See “Mitrail-
 “ lades, Fusillades,” a recriminating pamphlet, ad-
 dressed by Tallien to Collot d’Herbois. The title
 alludes to Collot’s exploits at Lyons.

Page 174.—The Marechalle de Biron, a very old
 and infirm woman, was taken to the Luxembourg
 at Paris, where her daughter-in-law, the Dutchess,
 was also confined. A cart arriving at that prison to
 convey a number of victims to the tribunal, the list,
 in the coarse dialect of republicanism, contained the
 name

name of La Femme Biron. "But there are two of them," said the keeper: "Then bring them both." The aged Marechal, who was at supper, concluded her meal while the rest were preparing, then took up her book of devotion, and departed cheerfully. The next day both mother and daughter were guillotined.

Page 200.—The Revolutionary Tribunal continues sentencing people to death, on pretexts as frivolous as in the time of Robespierre; they have only the advantage of being tried more formally, and of forfeiting their lives upon proof, instead of without it, for actions that a strictly administered justice would not punish by a month's imprisonment: for instance, a young Monk, for writing *fanatic* letters; and signing resolutions in favour of federalism; a hofier, for facilitating the return of an emigrant; a man of ninety, for speaking against the revolution, and discrediting the assignats; a contractor, for embezzling forage; people of various descriptions, for obstructing the recruitment, or insulting the tree of liberty. These and many similar condemnations will be found in the proceedings of the Revolutionary Tribunal, long after the death of *Robespierre*, and when *justice* and *humanity* were said to be restored.

Page 215, 216, 217.—Though the horror excited by such atrocious details must be serviceable to humanity, I am constrained by decency to spare the reader a part of them. Let the imagination, however repugnant, pause for a moment over these scenes. Five, or eight hundred people, of different sexes, ages, and conditions, are taken from their prisons in the dreary months of December and January, and conducted, during the silence of the night, to the banks of the Loire. The agents of the Republic there, despoil them of their clothes, and force them, shivering and defenceless, to enter the

machines prepared for their destruction. They are chained down, to prevent their escape by swimming, and then the bottom is detached from the upper part, and sunk. On some occasions, the miserable victims contrived to loose themselves, and clinging to the boats near them, shrieked in the agonies of despair and death, "Oh save us! it is not even now too late; in mercy save us!" But they appealed to wretches to whom mercy was a stranger; and being cut away from their hold by strokes of the sabre, they perished with their companions. That nothing might be wanting to these outrages against nature, they were described as jests, and called *noyades*, *water-parties*, and *civic baptisms*! Carrier, a Deputy of the Convention, used to dine and make parties of pleasure, accompanied by music, and every species of gross luxury, on board the barges appropriated to those execrable purposes.

At one time six hundred children appear to have been drowned; six young people of both sexes were tied in pairs and thrown into the river; thousands were shot on the high roads and in the fields; and vast numbers were guillotined without a trial! Six young women, in particular, sisters, and all under four-and-twenty, were ordered to the guillotine together: the youngest died instantly of fear, the rest were executed successively.—A child eleven years old, who had previously told the executioner, with affecting simplicity, that he hoped he would not hurt him much, received three strokes of the guillotine before his head was severed from his body!

Two thousand persons died in less than two months of a pestilence, occasioned by this carnage: the air became infected, and the waters of the Loire poisoned by dead bodies; and those whom tyranny yet spared, perished by the elements which nature intended for their support.

Vast sums were exacted from the *Nantais* for purifying the air, and taking precautions against epidemical disorders.

This black list of enormities might be extended almost *ad infinitum*, but it is deemed expedient to close it, at least for the present, with the confession of a staunch advocate for the French revolution, a constitution-monger, a legislator, and a judge—in short, no less a personage than *Thomas Paine*, who, in his malignant attack upon General Washington, for the first time in his life stumbled upon *the truth*. “To such a pitch of rage and suspicion was Robespierre and his Committee” (of which be it observed, *Carnot*, the actual President of the Directory, was a leading member) “arrived, that it seemed as if they feared to leave a man alive. *No man could count upon his life for twenty hours*. One hundred and sixty-nine prisoners were taken out of the *Luxembourg* in one night, and one hundred and sixty of them were guillotined. In the next list, I have good reason to believe *I was included*.”—FINIS
CORONAT OPUS.

THE END OF THE BLOODY BUOY.

THE
CENSOR:
OR, A REVIEW OF
POLITICAL OCCURRENCES
RELATIVE TO THE
UNITED STATES
OF
AMERICA.

1. The first part of the text is a list of names and titles.

2. The second part of the text is a list of names and titles.

3. The third part of the text is a list of names and titles.

POLITICAL CENSOR.

No. II.

THE reader will please to recollect, that, in the First Number of the Censor, I brought down the proceedings in the House of Representatives to the 5th of January, the memorable day of the exhibition of the French flag. I should not now have thought of returning to the same subject, had I not been led to it by an attack on the President, in the anarchical Aurora of Philadelphia.

One would have thought that giving this flag a place among the *archives* of the United States would have been conferring honour enough upon it; but nothing would content the French-Americans, who write in the paper I have just mentioned, short of its being hoisted in the Congress Chamber, as a trophy of the victory of French influence. They cite us the example of the Convention: but let them say under what circumstances, and with what motive, our flag was granted a conspicuous place in their hall. It was dishonoured by being swung up, gibbeted up, by the side of the flag of *regenerated* Geneva; a state in which the Convention had established their system of pillage and murder, and which they treated as a conquered country rather than as an *independent* ally. To add to our humiliation, a duplicate, as I may call it, of our flag was sent to Geneva, and there exhibited in the Convention of a poor little degraded nation of thirty thousand bodies, I will not call them souls. This was saying to the Genevese, See, you are not the only people

people who have thrown themselves on our protecting power, and sent us a pledge of their submission to our principles.

Thus, by the indiscretion (to give it the mildest term) of our ambassador, have we been degraded in the eyes of even *Italians*, and exposed to the gibes of the little scandalizing circles of the least respectable people in Europe: and, in return for this cruel insult, we are called upon to distinguish the flag of the Convention with a place in the public sittings of our Legislature, and by this act acknowledge ourselves the supple tools of our insulters!—This is modern patriotism.

Debate on the Appropriations for the Mint.

January 19th.

Mr. WILLIAMS, agreeably to notice before given, moved to strike out of the Appropriation Bill all the gross sum appropriated for the officers of the Mint.

Mr. SEDGWICK (from *Massachusetts*) thought that the course which the Gentleman is pursuing has never been adopted before. It is incorrect to discuss the merits of the Mint in passing this bill. We might as well take up the salary of the Chief Justice, or any other article in the bill, as the Mint. We never would have done at this rate. We are now only to vote for the bill, as agreeable to the laws already made. Mr. Sedgwick said, that if the Gentleman from New-York (Mr. Williams) would bring forward any proposition for the regulation, or even the abolition, of the establishment of the Mint, if it could be proved productive of public benefit, he, with every other Gentleman, would give him their aid to effect the object; but that now, he conceived, it could not regularly be brought forward. He thought an appropriation bill should be conformed exactly to the state of the public engagements, and that

that where establishments had been formed and salaries provided, the amount of them should be the principle of calculating the amount of appropriations; and the House ought not, by withholding appropriations, to break in upon and destroy establishments formed by the whole Legislature. That these observations had hitherto been sanctioned by the practice on this subject. He observed, that if the House was to investigate, in the discussion of an appropriation bill, the amount of salaries and the legal establishments of Government, the public service would be dangerously destroyed. He remarked, that it was to be observed that no appropriation was made, for any purpose, since the commencement of the year.

Mr. GALLATIN (from *Geneva*) rose to state a general principle, which he thought it of importance to lay down on this occasion, lest the decision on the present question, grounded on a different principle, should, on some future occasion, be brought forward. The principle was, *that this House has a right, by withholding appropriations when they see proper, to stop the wheels of Government.* This, he said, was plainly to be inferred from the practice of the House, in their passing annually an appropriation law. He observed, that in one instance the House had departed from that principle. In respect to the payment of the interest on the public debt, for the support of the public credit, the House had thought it necessary to give up that right. If this principle is not just, it would be best to make a permanent provision at once.

Mr. SEDGWICK said, that he had certainly no intention to have given occasion to the observations which had been made; but as the general principle which he had laid down had been denied, and as it had some relation, either intimate or remote, to the subject before the Committee, he would take the liberty

liberty to repeat the principle, and to say a few words in support of it.

The principle, then, which he had assumed, was, that when legal establishments were made, it was the duty of the Legislature to make appropriations conformably to the public engagements, and that neither branch had a right to withhold its assent. He observed, that the whole Legislature, and not a part, were competent to form contracts, and to establish and alter compensations and salaries. The Legislature, and not either branch of it, had the power of expressing the public will, and pledging the public faith: that when a salary is ascertained, the public faith is pledged that it shall be paid according to the stipulation; and that therefore the public credit is involved in making the necessary appropriations, without which it could not be paid. He asked, if in such case it was competent to the House rightfully to withhold the means necessary for the performance of the public engagements.

He said, he had always supposed that the power of the House, in the case of appropriations, did not give a power to yield or withhold assent on such a subject. He believed in every such instance the exercise of discretion was restrained. To illustrate his ideas, he could mention a similar instance. The Constitution had declared, that the President should receive a stated compensation for his services, to be ascertained by law, which could neither be diminished nor enlarged during the term for which he should have been elected. Here was a duty imposed on the Legislature, with the performance of which they could not, they had no power to dispense. Yet after the compensation was stated, no payment could be made but in consequence of appropriating. He asked, if, in this case, when the public will was expressed, the engagement and the national faith pledged, the Legislature could of right withhold the
necessary

necessary appropriation? The same observations might, he said, be applied to every instance where public controls were formed. The public faith was pledged; the necessary appropriations must be made to prevent a violation of it, and, if withheld, such violation might justly be charged on the Legislature.

Here a long conversation took place with respect to the expediency of the proposed measure, on the advantages and disadvantages of a Mint, &c. After which Mr. *Livingston*, whom we shall by and by see making a considerable figure in the field of opposition to the Government, made a motion *for the striking out the whole appropriation for the Mint*.

Mr. MURRAY (from *Maryland*) said, that had the Gentleman from New-York moved for delay, for the purpose of introducing a motion to repeal the law which rendered this appropriation necessary, he would not have troubled the House with a single remark; but his motion to strike out an appropriation, for the purpose of bringing the policy of the law itself into discussion, contained a principle in his mind so repugnant to the great legislative duties of the House, that he would oppose it. The object of the appropriation is not a temporary one, but a part of the machinery of our Government, under the express authority of the Constitution, by law. The doctrine now contended for by the Gentlemen from New-York and Pennsylvania (Mr. *Livingston* and Mr. *Gallatin*) was, that this House have a discretionary power of appropriating, or not. To this doctrine, taken in the extent which he conceived they contended for, he could not give his support. On the contrary, he thought, that in all cases where an appropriation flowed from a law to make good a contract, or to erect a permanent organ in the Government, and from any law whose object was permanent, the true doctrine was, that it was the duty of the House to vote an appropriation. A law is the will

will of the nation : the same powers only that formed it can repeal it. If it be a constitutional act, no power can lawfully obstruct its operation or its existence. But attending to the doctrine maintained to-day, it would follow, that though this House had not the power of repealing a law made by all the branches of Government, it may obstruct its operations and render it a dead letter : though it cannot repeal, it may do what shall amount to a repeal, which is the assumption of a power almost equal to that of exclusive legislation. He thought he saw in this an evil of great extent, and an anarchy of theoretic principles. It appeared to him, that though we originate money-bills, we had no right to refuse an appropriation to existing laws that either secured a debt or any contract, or that related to objects permanent by the law that created or acknowledged them, as long as the law itself remained unrepealed. We had but a share of legislative power. Where a law, relative to such objects as he had alluded to, existed, from which an appropriation followed till the law ceased, by repeal or by other constitutional means, it was obligatory upon us, as well as upon our constituents ; and the only powers we could exercise, of a discretionary sort, resolved themselves either into the mode of making good the appropriation, or of voting for its repeal. The other branches would then judge of the propriety of our proceeding ; but till they, who assisted in its enacting, judged with us the necessity of doing it away, a duty resulted that we should give it the energy intended by its enactment.

The appropriation for the Mint was finally passed.

REMARKS.—The first three items in the Appropriation Bill were as follows :

For

| For compensation to the President of the | Dollars. |
|--|----------|
| United States - - - | 25,000 |
| To the Vice-president - - - | 5,000 |
| To the Members of the Senate - - - | 38,000 |

Now, would it not have been much the shortest way for Mr. *Livingston* to move for striking out these three items? This would have been coming to the mark at once. By only three strokes of the "*Calm Observer's*" pen, the free, the independent; the beneficent Government of the United States might have been changed into a National Convention; and in the same number of days we might have seen our streets patrolled by revolutionary ruffians, our property exposed to requisitions and our heads to the guillotine.

But it is not my intention to enter into the merits of a motion at once the height of malevolence and absurdity; I have introduced this debate merely to have an opportunity of introducing the principle laid down by Mr. *Gallatin*, and Mr. *Gallatin* along with it.

This gentleman tells us, that the House of Representatives "have a right, by withholding appropriations *when they see proper, to stop the wheels of Government.*" I should be glad to know where he learnt this: whether from his companions in Braddock's Field, or from their correspondents, the corrupted *flour-merchants* in Philadelphia. They, indeed, were well versed in stopping the wheels of Government by the agency of *appropriations*.

When Mr. *Gallatin* rose from his seat to broach this clogging principle, there was an old farmer sitting beside me, to whom the person of the orator seemed familiar: "Ah, ah!" says he, "what's 'little Moses in Congress?'" I sharply reprimanded him for taking one of our representatives for a Jew; but, to confess a truth, the Gentleman from *Geneva* has an accent not unlike that of a wandering Israelite.

It is neither Italian, German, nor French ; and were it not a sort of leze republicanism, I would say he clipped the King's English most unmercifully. Such an accent is admirably adapted for extolling the value of leaden buckles, or for augmenting the discordant howlings of a synagogue ; but it throws a certain air of ridicule over the debates of a legislative assembly, and forms a sort of burlesque on the harmonious eloquence of the other members.

When I told the good jog-trot to take care what he was saying, for that the personage then on his legs was no other than the great Gallatin, he opened his eyes, and with a look and voice expressive of an honest indignation, " What !" says he, " that same Gallatin who was one of the leaders in the western insurrection ?" I could not help smiling at the simplicity of my country friend, in not perceiving that such a circumstance was the highest proof of Mr. Gallatin's patriotism, and the only one that recommended him to the suffrages of his constituents. " No wonder," says the farmer, " that he wants to stop the wheels of Government. I wish he'd attempt to stop the wheels of my waggon as I am going down hill." God forgive me, but I believe I said *Amen*.

Mr. Gallatin has been accused of inconsistency ; but here I cannot join the enemies of that gentleman. Whatever a man may be, I love to do him ample justice. This is a principle so strongly imprinted in my breast, that it induces me to undertake the defence of Mr. Gallatin's consistency, though I have not the highest respect for his general conduct or for his character.

We might follow this gentleman through his political career from the day of his disembarkation to the present session of Congress ; but it will not, I imagine, be necessary to go further back than the western rebellion.

So

So early as the 21st of July, 1791, we find him Clerk to a meeting for opposing the excise law, or, in other words, "stopping the wheels of Government."—On the 21st of April, 1792, we find this adjourned meeting declaring, "That whereas
 " some men may be found among us, so far lost to
 " every sense of virtue, and feeling for the distresses
 " of our country, as to accept the office for the
 " collection of the duty;

" Resolved, therefore, that in future we will
 " consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship, have no intercourse or dealings with them,
 " withdraw from them every assistance, and *with-*
 " *hold all the comforts of life*, which depend upon
 " those duties which as men and fellow-citizens we
 " owe to each other, and upon all occasions treat
 " them with that contempt they deserve; and that
 " it be, and it is hereby most earnestly *recommended*
 " *to the people at large*, to follow the same line of
 " conduct towards them."

Thus, then, I think here is no inconsistency; no change of principles. The man that could draw up a resolution like this, cannot be said to have abandoned his principles, when he declares that the House of Representatives may stop the wheels of Government, when they see proper, by withholding appropriations.

It is said, indeed, that Mr. Gallatin has since repented of his insurrection conduct, that he called the above-quoted resolution his "political sin," and we all know that he signed a promise of submission to the laws; but let it be remembered, that he never talked about this political sin, until he came down to Philadelphia, and that his promise of submission to the laws was not made, until he saw that resistance was in vain, and that it was the only way of availing himself of the amnesty, and saving his carcass from a loathsome dungeon. And, if he did
 leave

leave his poor deluded adherents in the lurch, and even sacrifice them to his own safety, this is no more than every rebellious ringleader is ready to do, when the moment of danger arrives. It is by no means a proof of inconsistency in the Gentleman from Geneva. It is, to use the words of a late political writer, "*varying his means to preserve the unity of his end.*" When overturning a government, or stopping its wheels, is the sole object of a patriot, so long as he keeps steadily towards the point, whether by open rebellion, confessing his political sin, pretending submission, lurching his associates, or withholding appropriations, he can never be justly charged with inconsistency.

Debate on the Appointment of a Stenographer.

January 29th.

On the 28th a report of the Stenographical Committee was given in, specifying that the Committee had received proposals from Mr. *David Robertson* of Virginia, whose demand for one session was 4000 dollars. The report became the order of the day for the 29th, when a resolution was proposed in favour of the appointment.

I shall choose from this debate what fell from Mr. Swanwick and Mr. William Smith, as appearing to me to comprise nearly all that was urged on both sides.

Mr. SWANWICK (from *Pennsylvania*). As to the gentleman who is the subject of the resolution, if I have more strenuously than usual opposed the motion, it is from a desire to keep him from quitting the lucrative situation he is said to find himself in, to embark on the stormy sea he is contemplating. To be the organ of the members of this House to their constituents is indeed a very delicate task; one for which, considering the danger he might be in of

an Orpheus's fate, that of being torn to pieces, the salary is but a poor compensation. He is to do justice to the eloquence of some members—he is to clothe in an elegant dress the uncouth, yet well-meaning expressions of others. But what will he do with the silent members, who never speak at all?—What will their constituents think of them? Indeed, Sir, if he had the idea I have formed of his danger, he will not undertake at all. Faction and party have been mentioned—happy Stenographer, if he can keep clear of these! If he fall into their power, insensibly he will represent one side in clouds and darkness, the other as ornamented with the brightest beams of light. How will he please both? Misrepresentation is complained of: alas, Sir, how quick is error, how slow is the progress of truth in almost all things! Our Stenographer must indeed be a wonder-working man, if he can revert this tide, and make every where light, and correct reasoning prevail. The best mode of informing our constituents is by the Yeas and Nays on our acts; this truly shows, as a gentleman from New-Hampshire has observed, our doings, which are much more interesting to them than our abstract reasonings; these our constituents will easily form to themselves ideas of when they know our votes.

Mr. W. LYMAN. (*Massachusetts*) said, that if this resolution did not pass, *it would be advisable to send all the Printers to the gallery.*

Mr. W. SMITH (*South Carolina*) said it was admitted on all sides, that it was highly important for the people to receive the most accurate information of the proceedings of the House, and that the debates were in general extremely misrepresented. Was it not then the duty of the House to remedy this evil, and to adopt such measures as would transmit to the people in every part of the United States, the most accurate information of the conduct of their repre-

representatives? The House had now an opportunity of obtaining the services of a gentleman peculiarly distinguished for the rare talent of reporting with accuracy public debates: the compensation which would be adequate to such useful and laborious service was beyond the ability of any printer; the House ought therefore to contribute towards it. The sum required was a trifle when compared with the advantages; it was no object: the only question then was, whether the Stenographer ought to be an officer of the House; in that capacity he certainly would be more easily restrained from the commission of any wilful misrepresentation. Mr. Smith did not feel the force of the objections against the report. It had been said, that although the members were now misrepresented, yet they had it in their power to publish corrections; but these corrections were often overlooked, while the misrepresentation was operating very injuriously to the character of the Member: this was generally the case in places remote from the seat of government; the mangled account of a debate was republished in a distant paper, and the correction, if it reached the distant printer, was generally disregarded. Among the opponents to the report, Mr. Smith said that he was surprised to find the gentleman who represented this city (Mr. Swanwick), who more than any other Member should have withdrawn his opposition to the measure proposed; that gentleman's constituents had it in their power at any time to hear the debates of Congress; they were on the spot; ought he not then in candour to assist in facilitating to the remote citizens the means of obtaining the best knowledge of the proceedings, and the most correct statement of the discussions of the House? ought they, from their remoteness, to be kept in the dark, or to be furnished with such light as would only mislead? Had they not a claim on the House to
adopt

adopt such means as would enable the citizens in every State to judge of the propriety of public measures? The Member from this city had another exclusive advantage; if misrepresented, he could correct the error, and the correction will be read; that was not the case with the members of remoter States, whose reputation might be injured by misrepresentation without a similar advantage: the Member from this city was in the midst of his constituents; he had daily opportunities of setting right any mistake by personal explanation.

Mr. SMITH said he did not agree with some gentlemen, that it was sufficient for the people to know what laws were passed, without knowing the previous discussions; he thought, on the contrary, the favourable or unfavourable impression of a law on the public mind would depend in a great degree on the reasons assigned for and against it in debates, and the people ought to know those reasons. When a law passes imposing a tax, would not the people be reconciled, if they saw, from the discussions of the House, that such tax was unavoidable, and that the particular mode of taxation was the best which could be devised? And ought this information to depend entirely on the caprice or convenience of the reporters, who attended when it pleased them, and who published just as much of the debates as they found leisure or patience to accomplish? Mr. Smith said, he was convinced that the errors which had excited so much complaint were not the effect of design, but merely of inadequacy to the task; very few were competent to such a business, which required peculiar skill in stenography, very laborious application, and a clear comprehension of the subject matter of debate. It could not be expected that persons thus qualified would devote their whole time to this business without an ample reward. The report was objected to because there was novelty in
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the plan; it was true the House of Commons of England had no such officer, but their practice was not a fit precedent for us on this occasion, for they admitted no person to write down in the House their proceedings; their debates were taken from memory. This House on the contrary had, from its first institution, facilitated, by every accommodation, the reporting their proceedings. The thing was not altogether however without precedent; during the existence of the National Assembly of France there were officers of the House who composed a daily work called the Logography, which was an exact account of the debates of that body. It had been asked, what control the House were to have over this officer? He answered, that the Stenographer would be liable to be censured or displaced, if he should be guilty of wilful misrepresentation; it would be always easy to discriminate between a casual inadvertence, and a criminal misstatement: the officer's character and talents, his responsibility to the House, and his oath to report with impartiality, would be a sufficient pledge of his accuracy. Mr. Smith seriously believed, that the character of the House had suffered from the erroneous statements which had gone abroad; he wished to guard against this evil in future; he was willing, for himself, that every syllable he uttered within those walls should be carried to every part of the Union, but he deprecated misrepresentation. He was anxious that the truth should be known, in relation to every act of the Government; for he was as satisfied that the affection and confidence of the people in this Government would increase with the promulgation of truth, as that whatever it had lost of that affection and confidence was owing altogether to the propagation of detraction and calumny. It was under these impressions that he had originally brought forward the proposition, and that he now recommended the report;

port; and having heard no reasons to change his sentiments of the expediency of the measure, he should persist in supporting it.

The Committee of the whole was discharged from any further consideration of the subject.

REMARKS,—The House had nearly got upon a rock here, which they would have found it difficult to get off from in safety. Perhaps there was never a resolution proposed, at once so apparently trifling and so pregnant with mischief. Let any man reflect for a moment on the state of parties in this country, and he will look with affright at the appointment of an officer, invested with the power of disfiguring every argument, and even every phrase, that a Member of the Legislature may let fall. The gentlemen who supported the resolution, talk of his being sworn; and did we live in those good old times, when oaths were superior to the spirit of party, the argument would be unanswerable: but, alas! those times are no more. Oaths on the Evangelists are, in this *enlightened* age, little more than mockery. The members of the present Congress have every man of them sworn to maintain the Constitution of the United States, and yet how many of them do we see at this moment, straining every faculty of the mind to render it null and void? What then could be hoped from a Stenographer?

Were a perfect stranger to listen to a debate, he would contract a partiality for one side or the other, before it was half over. Every man in a popular government has his party; and who can suppose that the Stenographer would not have his? It was said that the House had a check upon him, in their power to dismiss him from his office. But this must be done by a vote of the House, and therefore it could be no defence for a Member who had the misfortune to find himself in a minority,

Indeed,

Indeed, this power of dismissal is one of the worst parts of the plan; for, as the Stenographer would be loath to quit so lucrative an employment, he would of necessity be led to preserve a majority in his favour; and what would be so sure a way of doing this as misrepresenting the speeches of the minority? A Member might complain; but the Stenographer, secure in his majority, would laugh at him. Thus might a man of talents and integrity be officially represented as a fool or a knave, without having the possibility of redress. In vain would he endeavour to justify himself: the sworn Stenographer would be believed before him, and the House, by a solemn decision, would determine that he had said what he never dreamt of.

Should an officer like this ever enter the House, it is easy to foresee that he will not be long wanted. The very sight of such a tremendous umpire would frighten away all freedom of speech. It is true the members of the majority might prattle away, but those of the other side would naturally look upon themselves in the situation of a man who is making a deposition. One party only would dare to open their mouths. Where there is no opposition there can be no debate, and, of course, no need of a Stenographer.

Mr. Smith's objection to citing the example of the British House of Commons on this occasion did not appear to me well-founded. They permit no one to write down their words after them; yet I believe it will be allowed that their debates are very well reported; and this is a pretty good proof that an officer for that purpose is by no means necessary.

This gentleman mentioned the officers of the *Logography* employed by the second National Assembly in France. Unfortunate instance! The French Constitution, that "master-piece of legislation," which was to last as long as the round world,

world, lasted only ten months and ten days; and, among the engines by which it was destroyed, the office of the Logography claims a conspicuous place. There were ten of these reporters. They wrote in the literal character: one took the first sentence, another the second, and so on. Ten men were much more difficult to warp and corrupt than one would be, and yet we ever see them the decided tools of the strongest party. Members complained of misrepresentations, and had the satisfaction to see their complaints still more disfigured than their speeches. The consequence was, the few real friends of the constitution were obliged to hold their tongues, and suffer the inflammatory harangues of their opponents to go forth among the people uncontradicted.

I never like to hear the examples of foreign governments applied to our own, particularly the examples of what is called the Government of France. I was astonished that a gentleman of Mr. Smith's good sense and good intentions should hold up for our imitation, or even mention as an instance, one of the most infidious measures of an Assembly, who were guilty of every crime under heaven; who, after having repeatedly sworn to defend with their lives, the inviolability of their sovereign, coolly planned an insurrection to hurl him from his throne, afterwards made this very insurrection the subject of an article of accusation against him, and decreed that their own *perjury was a virtue!*

Mr. Lyman's hint for driving all the printers out of the House, *unless the resolution passed*, was a striking instance of the domineering spirit, which would infallibly have overborne any Stenographer who had been unfortunate enough to accept of the post.

This hint broke out, some days after, in the form of a resolution, from the lips of Mr. Heath of Virginia—"Resolved, that, until a Stenographer be

“ appointed, or further provision made for taking
 “ the debates of this House, *no printer be permitted*
 “ *to publish abstracts of the speeches of members, unless*
 “ *permitted by members making the same.*” This was
 the substance of the resolution, and a curious one
 it is.

These gentlemen seem to have been determined
 to force their harangues, at full length, down our
 throats, or to keep us in a sort of political starva-
 tion. We must either swallow them by dozens of
 yards, as buffoons do ribands, or we must never
 have a taste.

I wonder where Mr. Lyman learnt a doctrine like
 this. Such an idea could certainly never be engen-
 dered in the free temperate air of Massachusetts.
 As to the Gentleman from Virginia, I am not sur-
 prised; for we know that when a sulky negro will
 not lick up his mess clean, however insipid, dis-
 gusting, and nauseous it may be, he is muzzled till
 his stomach comes to. But are we Pennsylvanians
 to be treated thus?—No, no, Mr. Heath; when
 you get the government on the other side of the
 Potomack, you may, and undoubtedly will, do
 what you please with it; but we have four years to
 live, at any rate; be not in such haste to muzzle us
 then.

Should this resolution ever reach the other side of
 the Atlantic, what idea will it give the English pa-
 triots of our liberty of the press? If a Member of
 the British House of Commons were to propose such
 a tyrannical resolution, I should not wonder to hear
 of his being stoned to death. Not publish abstracts
 from speeches without particular permission! The
 idea was certainly imported from the borders of the
Palus Meotis.

Had these two gentlemen restricted the prohibition
 to their *own speeches*, I believe that neither the
 House nor the public would have cared much about
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the matter ; for neither of them is of the Ciceronian stamp. It is observable, that those who appeared most anxious for the appointment of a Stenographer, if we except one or two, are amongst the few whose speeches can do them no sort of credit with any party. This is the way of the world. Animals, whether endued with the faculty of speech or not, seem to fly in the face of nature. The ugly woman is everlastingly at her glass ; the owl thought her frightful brood the prettiest little creatures in the world ; and the insipid orator, while his voice is drowned in the hennings, coughings, and snorings of his drowsy audience, thinks he is uttering sentences that ought to be written in letters of gold.

It was observed in the course of the debate, that, if the printers committed errors, gentlemen might write out their speeches and send them to the press. To this Mr. Nichols replied, that he was above doing any such thing.—For my part, I must confess, that, were I capable of making a speech, I should be too lazy to write it out for the newspapers ; but as to its being beneath a lawgiver, I shall say nothing ; for we have an example before our eyes of a folio orator in the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania, who is so far from thinking it beneath him to write out his speeches, that he even reads them from his seat, like a schoolboy from his bench. I allude here to one *Doctor Morpheus*, who, finding his neighbours determined not to die under his hands, is now endeavouring to assassinate the State. The State, however, seems to partake of the obstinacy of his neighbours, turning a deaf ear to all his prescriptions. The bolus of sedition which he had kneaded up for the Assembly, did, indeed, at first, operate as a provocative on some of the members from Whiskyland ; but, luckily, the soporific qualities of it soon became predominant, and, at last, absolutely irresistible. At the end of the second paragraph

ragraph the Chairman was perceived to yawn, the third rocked him off, and the fourth laid the whole Assembly fast asleep. The fifth reached the door-keeper, at the further end of the passage; and before the sixth was half finished, an old woman who sells apples at the gate, dropped from her stool. The political *Morpheus* continued to spread his poppies, till, perceiving the effects of his bolus, he slunk off home to his liver nippy and sour crout.—Should this quack in politics as well as physic be suffered to continue his lectures, the Assembly of Pennsylvania may write over their doors, as the French do over those of their burying-grounds: “This is the place of everlasting sleep*.”

After this little trip to the Land of Nod, let us return to our Stenographer.

I by no means call in question the virtue of Mr. Robertson, the officer proposed: on the contrary, I should suppose his virtue must be very high; for like that of Fielding's postboy, it is very high priced. If it be equal to his modesty, it is certainly beyond any thing reasonably to be expected from a frail mortal. The humble demand of four thousand dollars for the session is not a great deal more than eight times as much as any Member of the House receives. The very mention of such a sum cannot fail to bring forth swarms of stenographers, as a warm night at the playhouse is said to hatch comedians.

I cannot conclude this article without reminding gentlemen of their cruelty to my poor Caledonian friend, Callender. How was he mauled! how was his *Register* torn to pieces! One took him by the wig, another by the ear; he writhed and winced and jumped about, as the French say, like a frog upon a gridiron. I much question if he were in

* This passage alludes to DR. LIEB.

greater torture when the constables of Edinburgh were at his heels.—Oh ! gentlemen from Virginia ! how could you so belabour this imported patriot ? A man that has not only forsworn his country, but has written, or rather transcribed, two whole “ Political Progresses ” purely to curry favour with you ! Nay, he has even blasphemed the President, and justified the non-payment of debts ; and yet, oh ingratitude ! you could smile at his agonies ! If this be the way you treat your friends, I hope I shall never be numbered amongst them ; at least until your manners and principles change.

One gentleman expressed a good deal of anxiety, lest the “ Political Register ” should descend to posterity ; but let him quiet his fears on this account ; for, whether the speeches which Callender has collected were *written out* or not, they are a more potent opiate than any drug that was ever pounded in the mortar of *Doctor Morpheus* ; and that is saying a great deal, I am sure.

Debate on Half an Hour's Adjournment.

February 22d.

Mr. SMITH (from *South Carolina*) moved, that the House adjourn for *half an hour*, in order to give the members an opportunity of congratulating the President of the United States *on the return of his birthday*.

Strange to tell ! this motion was opposed. The ground of this opposition was, that it was the duty of the House first to attend to the discharge of their legislative functions, before they attended to the *paying of compliments*. It was said, on the other hand, that it had been the practice, ever since the establishment of the general government, for the House to make a short adjournment, for the purpose mentioned in the motion.

After

After some conversation in this way, *Mr. Gallatin* moved, that the words, "*half an hour*," be struck out.

This amendment was rejected. The motion was then put, and lost :

Ayes 38

Noes 50

Thus was it determined, by a majority of twelve, to withhold from the President a slight compliment, which he had been accustomed to receive from the House, from the first year of its existence.

I was but too right in saying, that, at the opening of the session, "he saw, even among those to whom " he addressed himself, numbers, who were ready " to present him the cup of humiliation filled to the " brim."

The excuse, "that it was the duty of the House " first to attend to the discharge of their legislative " functions," was a most miserable subterfuge. *Half an hour* only was asked for. Heavens! how many half hours have been idled away this very session!—The Speaker sends word that he is *indisposed*.—Adjourn! Adjourn!—And this is repeated *day after day*. What would have been easier than to appoint a Speaker *pro tem.* if members were so remiss in the "discharge of their legislative functions?" Yet this was not done, nor, I believe, proposed; though some one of these fifty indefatigable members was certainly present. How differently do men see the same object, under different circumstances! The Speaker's headach adjourns the House for whole days. But *half an hour*, a poor thirty minutes, was too precious to be wasted in a respectful compliment to the President!

The Gentleman from *Whiskyland* was, without doubt, afraid that the motion would not be rejected altogether. He imagined the House had not so far got the better of *prejudice*, as to come to an unqualified

qualified determination not to wait on the President ; he therefore proposed to leave out the words, “ *half an hour.*” If this amendment had passed, the House would have adjourned, not for *half an hour*, but for the whole day ; but then it would have seemed that they did it for their own pleasure and recreation, and not for the purpose of complimenting General Washington, the only thing that Mr. Gallatin seems to have been afraid of.

This proposed amendment is an excellent explanation of the ambiguous excuse, “ that it was the duty of the House first to attend to the discharge of their legislative functions.” What ! would their duty permit them to separate for *the whole day*, and not permit them to separate for *half an hour* ? These gentlemen seem to count time as the French do their assignats ; a thirtieth part is more valuable than the whole. Mr. Gallatin appears to have scorned the subterfuge. No matter how much time was spent, or in what manner, so that it was not for the express purpose of waiting on the President ; so that the insult was rendered acute.

What must have been the President’s reflections, when he read the sketch of this debate ?

When I compare the determination of the House of Representatives of this day, with their conduct and that of the people at the time of the President’s installation, I blush for them both. His journey from his seat in Virginia to New-York was almost one continued triumphal entry. As he approached the towns, he found the road decked with laurel and strewed with flowers. Sometimes he was hailed with the firing of cannon, at others with the ringing of bells, and every where with the shouts of the multitude. Processions were formed to conduct him—the magistrates, the military, men of all trades, companies of matrons, and choirs of white-robed virgins. It were vain to attempt an account of the
festivals

festivals, balls, galas, fireworks, illuminations, mot-
tos, sonnets, and odes, in honour of the "Saviour
" of his Country." "Merit" (said one of his pa-
negyrist on this occasion), "merit must be great
" indeed, when it can call forth such honours from
" a free and enlightened people: honours due to
" a man, whose life has been one series of labours,
" which are upon a scale that Heaven never before
" assigned to mortal. *Future generations* will say of
" him with the poet:

" So near perfection, that he stood

" Upon the bound'ry line

" Of finite from *infinite good*,

" Of human from *divine*."

Will "future generations" believe, that in less
than seven years after this unbounded strain of pane-
gyric was in vogue, the Representatives of the People
came to a formal determination, that *half an hour* was
too much to be wasted in congratulating this same
man on the return of his birthday?

*Debate on the Bill authorizing a Loan for the Use of the
City of Washington.*

February 23d.

This debate was very long, and rather uninterest-
ing; but, as I mean to speak on it myself, I cannot
with candour refuse to give a sketch of what was said
by one or two of my opponents, to enable the reader
to judge between us.

Mr. SWANWICK (who spoke on the same side that
I shall do) said, that he objected to the bill generally
upon the same ground as yesterday, with respect to
joining the securities of the lots and the faith of the
United States together. He asked, how the passing
of this bill could give value to the buildings of the
Federal city? Is it not, said he, already enacted,
that Congress shall sit there in the year 1801? The
value of the lots, he said, was to be increased only

by the selling them to a number of persons. The city must owe its prosperity to its peculiar advantages as a commercial spot, and not to its being the seat of government. It was therefore the interest of the United States to sell the lots, and induce the people to settle there. The higher price the lots bore, the greater would be the obstacles to settlement. If it was the intention of the United States to grant money for the completion of the buildings, let the House say so. When it was first proposed to remove the Government to the Federal city, it was said, that it would be the interest of persons to give lots to encourage the Government to come there. The security now asked for was never contemplated. He had, however, no objection to the United States granting money, but he was against the making of two loans, one on the credit of the United States, and another on that of the United States and certain lots.

Mr. BRENT (from *Virginia*) said, that it had been observed, that if the lots be a sufficient surety for the loan, why guarantee it? At present, he said, the lots were not sufficient. Mr. Brent observed, *that the bill before them would be considered as the touchstone to determine whether the seat of government will go to the banks of the Potomack, or not.* Motives of policy and economy, and objections to increasing the public debt, will not apply in this case; the very act provides funds to guarantee the loan; for though the property, until the proposed loan be guaranteed, would sell for *a mere trifle*, when it is *guaranteed*, it will sell for a *great price*; so great a difference would it make, that he believed property which will then sell for two millions of dollars, would not otherwise be worth 100,000 dollars. If, therefore, Gentlemen are against the bill from economical views, they are mistaken; for it was his opinion, that the property would not only pay off the loan, but eventually *be a considerable fund towards the discharge of the public debt.*

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It had been suggested, that the United States were under no obligation to make this guarantee. He thought differently; he believed the credit of the United States materially concerned. The public have relied fully upon the countenance of Government in the business; many persons indeed have made great sacrifices to procure lots in this new city, and if, after holding out temptations to people, Government should not go there at the proposed time, all these persons will be ruined, and *a stain will be laid on the national character*. He hoped, therefore, no objection would be made to carrying the bill into effect.

Mr. GILES (from *Virginia*) wished to remark on what had fallen from a Member from Pennsylvania yesterday, with respect to the law providing for the removal of the seat of government. *That law, he said, differed from all others*. The constitution itself, he said, prescribes the rule; the act only fixes the spot where it should be carried into effect. *The act is, therefore, not repealable*. The constitution does not give a power to fix upon two spots, but upon one spot. He thought it necessary to make this remark, lest he might be supposed to countenance the opinion he combated. It had been remarked, that it would be in some degree degrading to the United States, to borrow money on the credit of lots; he thought differently, and showed that it was a common thing in governments to borrow money on different funds. It had been wished to disconnect the Government from the business: whilst Government guaranteed the loan, he said it would make no difference whether the loan was bottomed on the lots, or otherwise. The nature of the engagement was the same. The question was, whether the House would agree to guarantee the loan, or not.

Mr. GILES said, that he had seen and was acquainted with the buildings carrying on in the Federal

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ral city. He thought *the house erecting for the residence of the President was much too magnificent*, much more so than was intended. Every one thought so who saw it ; but this was no reason for obstructing the progress of the business. He hoped the bill would be formed in a manner so as to meet the general sense of the House. Though he had *objected to the grandeur of the house intended for the President*, he would have the buildings for Congress erected on a grand scale, and fitted for the Representatives of a great and free people.

The bill was finally recommitted.

REMARKS.—The reader has heard what was said on both sides of this question, and I have now to beg him to attend to what I would have said, had I been a Member of Congress.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

It is well known that I am no orator ; that I speak right on, making my tongue the true interpreter of my heart. You will not therefore expect from me the wily sophistry of a G—tin, the quibbling of a G—les, the verbosity of a B—win, or the patriotic bombast of a Liv—ton.

It is seldom, Sir, that I trouble the House with my sentiments on any question whatever. There are so many Gentlemen among us, who are speechifiers by profession, who deck every subject, however steril and trifling, with all the flowers of the garden of eloquence, that a plain spokesman like me can have little chance of being heard with any degree of patience. On the present occasion, however, these Gentlemen do not seem to become like the bee, loaded with sweets ; the few they have brought with them are already scattered abroad, and have lost their fragrance : and as the day is not yet far enough advanced to countenance an adjournment, permit me to hope for indulgence, while I humbly endeavour to spin out the time between this and dinner ; or as our plough-

men have it, while I take a gentle turn to wind down the sun.

Should Gentlemen find themselves inclined to repose, as I have often been in listening to them, I beg them not to stand upon ceremony, but to loll back at their ease, and leave me to jog quietly on.

We are called upon, Sir, to *guarantee* a loan, for which the lots of the city of Washington are to be a *security*; and the Gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Brent, tells us, that though the lots are at present worth but a *mere trifle*, they will, when guaranteed, be of *great value*. This is rather obscure; I shall therefore endeavour to explain it by comparison, which, I make no doubt, I shall do to the satisfaction of the House. Suppose I had a lot not worth a brass farthing, and was to draw a note payable out of the produce of this same lot, such note would be worth but a "*mere trifle*;" but, when endorsed by a man of credit, it would be "*of great value*;" because the holder would always know where to look for payment.

But the friends of the guarantee do not stop here. They assure us that it would render the lots so very valuable as to "create a considerable fund towards the discharge of the public debt!" Much as I wish to see that debt discharged, I by no means approve of its being done by taking advantage of an overstrained generosity. The Virginians have most generously bestowed part of the land; and not content with that, they now offer us an opportunity of paying off the public debt with speculations in the lots. I am one of those who are willing to forego any and every offer of this kind. I am willing that the Virginians themselves should be permitted to guarantee this loan, and receive exclusively all the immense advantages accruing therefrom. Let them undertake the negotiation upon their own bottom, which, from the great credit they enjoy in foreign countries,

Countries, they cannot fail to effect upon the most reasonable terms.

It is said, that foreigners will not venture their money on the lots, because they can form no idea of their value; neither can I: and this is another reason for my wishing to leave the business in the hands of those who are upon the spot, and who seem to be the only persons interested in the matter.

The Gentleman who made us the bounteous proposal for paying off the public debt by the means of the guarantee, concluded with an argument, which, I believe, he conceived to carry more weight with it; that is, unless the Government went to the city of Washington at the time specified by the act, it would be "*a stain on the national character*." I participate with Mr. Brent in his anxiety for our national character, and am glad to have it in my power to convince him, that it could be in no danger from the disappointment he seems so much afraid of. We see a very considerable State of the Union, Sir, tenaciously adhering to a law, made expressly to screen its citizens from the obligation of discharging their just debts; and we have seen this very House pass a resolution for the sequestration of all debts due from Americans to their creditors in Great Britain. Neither of these has ever been called a stain on our national character; and if these are not, if our character is proof against these, I imagine we have little to fear from the Government's remaining at Philadelphia. I will mention another instance, Sir, still stronger. If we look back into the journals of Congress, we shall find the King of France styled, our *great and good ally*, our *friend* and *deliverer*; and yet we have applauded his murder [Here the Chairman would have called me to order; upon which I should have said]—Sir, I should be sorry to break through the rules of this House, and I must insist that I am perfectly in order. The Gentleman

tleman from Virginia had laid great stress on what he presumed would be a stain on our national character. I looked upon myself as entitled to prove that he was mistaken ; and I certainly had a right to do this, by bringing forward what I conceived to be much better calculated to impress a stain, and which, however, had not produced that effect. If, therefore, there was any deviation from the question, the Gentleman led the way, and I was only following him. Besides, Sir, look over the debates of this House, and you will see to what a nutshell compass they will be reduced, if you exclude all the extraneous matter. If members are to be bound down to the simple question before them, if no latitude of digression is allowed of, no little rambles to France for eulogium, and to Great Britain for invective, how do you imagine, Sir, that *patriotic* members would be able to give proofs of their diligence, by cking out the session to six or seven months ? Your assent, Sir, to the justness of these observations encourages me to take up the thread of my argument.

If, on the day of our pompous reception of the French flag, poor murdered Louis had risen up through the floor, and said, " Ungrateful Americans! you who flattered me in the hour of my prosperity and your distress ; you who called me your deliverer ; you who made public rejoicings for the day of my nativity, are now joining hands with the very men who led me to the block ; are expressing ' your sincere and lively sensibility, your sympathy and affection ' towards them ; are giving a pompous reception to the emblems of their triumph over me, at the very moment that my portrait, which was to be the memento of my services and of your gratitude, is hanging up within your walls"—If the spectre of this injured Prince had thus spoken, what should we have said ?

I know

I know a Member who would have replied, Avaunt, "crimined monster!" But, for my part, I should have felt the stain: I should have thought myself spotted as a leopard; and yet, Sir, this has never been mentioned as a stain on our national character. To apprehend, therefore, any danger from our not removing to the banks of the Potomack, is to strain at a gnat, while we swallow a giant.

Much has been said, Sir, on the manner in which the buildings of the city of Washington have been conducted. This is a branch of the subject that I should have passed over in silence, had it not been for an expression or two that fell from another Gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Giles. That Gentleman observed that "the house erecting for the residence of the President, was *much too magnificent*;" but "that though he *objected to the grandeur* of the house intended for *the President*, he would have the buildings for *Congress* erected upon a *grand scale*, and fitted for the *Representatives of a great and free people*."—I do not choose, Sir, to let this fall go abroad unnoticed, lest the world should imagine us all tainted with that ungovernable vanity, which seems to have engrossed the soul of our unfortunate colleague.

The Gentleman is afraid that the house of the President may be *too magnificent*; but that which he expects to occupy *himself*, he wishes to see upon a *grand scale*. Modest man! The President is to be kept within the walls of a plain building, to remind him of the lowliness of his estate, of his being the *servant* of the public; while Mr. Giles is to strut beneath the roof of buildings upon a *grand scale*, fitted for the *Representatives of a great people*; or, in other words, for the *great Representatives* of the people.

I am thinking, Sir, that the public will do well to keep us within a plain building, or I am afraid our heads

heads will soon be turned. We are in absolute need of being dieted, for we are grasping not only at all honour, but at all power too. If we once enter the pile proposed by our colleague ; if we once get under those Corinthian columns and fiarry vaults, we shall expect other things on a "*grand scale*" also ; we must have our coaches and fix, our led horses, our pages, our grooms, our huntsmen and our buck-hounds ; our villas, baths, sofas, and beds of state. We may expect, in due time, to hear the Gentleman from Virginia propose a *seraglio* as among the conveniences of the "*Representatives of a great and free people.*"

Much do I fear, Sir, that if we were once got in possession of all these pretty things, we should be very loath to return to our humble dwellings and our homely fare. In short, I think we should do like the *great Representatives* of the French, that is, declare ourselves permanent, or, at least, order the people to elect nobody but ourselves, which amounts to exactly the same.

But we are told that this building upon a *grand scale* is not intended as an honour to us, but to our constituents. This is the very gull-trap which the poor silly French have fallen into. Every thing that their grovelling, low-bred tyrants have assumed to themselves, has been done under the specious pretext of doing honour "to a *great and free people.*" They have seized on all the palaces in the kingdom, on the royal studs, coaches, and every other article of luxury, for their own exclusive use ; they wallow in sumptuousness, while their ragged slaves have but two or three ounces of dirty-coloured bread a day, and if they murmur, they shoot them down by thousands ; and all this is for the "honour of a *great and free people.*" A great people, a free people, a sovereign people, and the like, are very pretty phrases ; they tickle the ears of the multitude ; but should they

they perceive how completely the demagogues transfer this grandeur, liberty, and sovereignty to themselves, perhaps they would cease to admire them ; and nothing seems better calculated to open their eyes, than seeing them in a splendid palace, while they, many of them at least, are obliged to put up with log-huts.

It is become a prevailing fashion among the opposers of our Government, to confine the expression “ Representatives of the People ” to this House only. But, Sir, is not this a very false, as well as dangerous notion ? Is not the President the Representative of the people as well as Mr. Giles ?— Yes, and of the whole of the people too, while Mr. Giles represents but a very small part of one State. The epithet *immediate* is sometimes prefixed ; but then Mr. Giles can be the *immediate Representative* of no more than an eighteenth part of the State of Virginia, while the President is the immediate Representative of the whole Union ; for the representation must ever be immediate, though the election may not. If, therefore, a preference is due to any branch of the Government, the President seems to have a better title to it than any of us : and seeing the thing in this light, I cannot help looking upon the observation of the Gentleman from Virginia as extremely improper, if not indecent.

I thought, Sir, I heard the word *Capitol* mentioned during the debate. For the love of modesty, I hope the Congress-house is not to be called a *Capitol* ! If this be the case, it will be necessary to go a step further, and assume the masquerade dress of the French Romans. How pretty we shall look in long white robes, descending to our toes, a blue girdle about our waists, a scarlet cloak on our shoulders, and a red liberty cap on our heads ! Let them all be well embroidered with gold, as those of the French legislators *are to be* ; and if they are even set with precious stones, it will be an additional proof of our

jealousy for the honour of "a great and free people." We shall, indeed, bring upon us a ridicule equal to that excited by the upstart pettifoggers of the National Assembly, when they insisted on the folding-doors of the Louvre being thrown open at their approach : but let the world be merry ; while we are swaggering about in our consular robes, we shall care but little whether we are called ambitious buffoons or not.

The idea of a *Capitol* seems to be borrowed from the State of Virginia, the Assembly-house of which has taken that name. For what reason it was there adopted I know not, unless it be that there are such numbers of Cæsars and Pompeys in the neighbourhood, against whose ambitious projects the grave and virtuous Senate are ever vigilant to preserve the liberty of their country. The *Capitol* of Virginia resembles that of Rome also, in that it has a *slave-mart* in its vicinity.

I shall now, Sir, return to the proposed guarantee, and advert to another of the forcible arguments of Mr. Brent. This gentleman tells us, that "the guarantee is the touchstone to prove whether the seat of government is to be removed or not." I am willing to take the gentleman at his word. I am willing to allow, that refusing the guarantee of the loan, will amount to a declaration of our wish to remain where we are : and, with this view, I shall give the refusal my hearty support . . . [Here a loud cry of Hear him ! Hear him !] I am glad to find, Mr. Chairman, that Gentlemen are so disposed to hear ; for I can assure them that what I have to say, is not only worth hearing, but attending to also.

I look forward, Sir, to the day of removing the Government to the banks of the Potomack, as the dawn of its destruction. Open the page of history, and you will see that the fate of every popular government in a great measure depends on the disposition of the people immediately in its neighbourhood.

hood. I could cite you a thousand examples from the fall of the Grecian States down to our own times, but I shall content myself with one of modern date; and as the Gentlemen on the other side of the House are so fond of flying to France, I trust I shall be excused for doing the same.

When the Constituent Assembly conceived the destructive project of annihilating the government, which their constituents had positively ordered them to aid and strengthen, what did they do? Removed themselves to Paris, where they knew the greatest number of disaffected persons were assembled. The consequences are but too well known.

We are not ignorant of the general disposition of the State to which this Government is to be removed. We have seen its Legislature, during this very session, soliciting every State in the Union to join them in reducing this government to a mere democracy. Nor can any of us have forgotten the public invitation to the people of other States, to oppose the treaty with his Britannic Majesty by open force, boasting that there were "a hundred thousand free and independent Virginians," ready to strike the first blow. Can it be supposed then, if we were now assembled at the city of Washington, that these hundred thousand free and independent Virginians, whether black, white, or yellow, would not dictate to us all we should dare to say or do? Do you think, Sir, that the cutting truths which have this day fallen from my lips, would ever have been uttered in the city of Washington? No; I should have expected to have my throat cut, or my eyes gouged out by some slave or slave-dealer, before I got home to my dinner. I will never go there, Sir! and to those Gentlemen who do, I sincerely recommend the precaution of a steel collar, if not a suit of armour *cap-à-pé*.

Mr. GILES has told us, Sir, that the law for the removal

removal of the seat of government differs from all others ; that “ the Constitution itself has marked the “ *rule*, and only left Congress to name the spot ; that “ the law is therefore not *repealable*.” Curious quibble ! The Constitution says, that the Congress shall “ exercise exclusive legislation over such district “ as may become the seat of government of the “ United States.” Now, what is there here that makes the act unrepealable ? What *rule* is here marked out ? Is there a word about the law being unalterable ? Does the Constitution say, that when the district is once fixed on, it shall never be changed for another ? There is something so ridiculous in the idea, that one would wonder how it ever found its way into words ; and to hazard those words, the Gentleman must have a very high opinion of the forbearance of this House. Suppose, for instance, the banks of the Potomack should be visited with the plague or yellow fever ; are we to remain there, and let our carcases be thrown into the river ? Suppose a volcano or earthquake, or, in short, suppose what you will, are we yet bound to make the city of Washington the seat of government ? And what, I ask, are plagues, yellow fevers, volcanos, and earthquakes, compared with the knives of “ a hundred thousand *free and independent slaves* ?” In a word, Mr. Chairman, so fully am I convinced, that the removal of the seat of government to the neighbourhood of the State of Virginia will prove the overthrow of our happy Constitution, and eventually plunge our country in anarchy and blood, that I shall not only oppose every measure that may accelerate the fatal epoch, but I pledge myself to bring forward a motion for the repeal of the act altogether.—And now, Sir, as I see the Gentlemen from Virginia are bursting with reply, I sit down, satisfied of having discharged my duty, without giving offence to any one to whose ears truth is not disagreeable.

Debate

*Debate on the Measures to be taken to prevent the
Impressment of American Seamen.*

February 18th.

Mr. LIVINGSTON (*New-York*) said, he would call the attention of the House to the situation of a very important and meritorious class of men, whose value seemed to have been overlooked, and whose dearest rights were either shamefully neglected or ignominiously surrendered. He adverted to the seamen of the United States. This valuable class of men would fall under one of these descriptions ;

1. Native American citizens.
2. Such as were citizens at the declaration of Independence, and at the period of the peace with Great Britain.
3. Foreigners naturalized since the declaration of Independence.

It would be no difficult matter to prove, that all the individuals of either of those descriptions were equally entitled to the protection of Government ; to the same or greater exertions in *their* favour than were made for those citizens whose situation rendered it easier to apply for relief. Yet this meritorious body of our constituents, he said, thus entitled to our protection and favour, sailing under the sanction of our national flag, had been illegally seized, violently forced into a service they abhorred, cruelly torn from their relations, their families, and their country, and ignominiously scourged for asserting the privileges of their citizenship. The country, to which they looked for protection and relief, had regarded their sufferings with apathy and indifference ! Three years we had beheld their miseries and heard their cries ; yet for three years we had been silent spectators of this disgraceful scene. We had begun a compact with their oppressors, in which these unfortunate men looked in vain for one word of comfort in their misery,

sery, for one little article in the voluminous pages of the instrument, that might offer a hope of recompense for their past sufferings, or security against future oppressions. “ *I blush* (said Mr. Livingston) as “ an American, to think it was an American Minister “ who could be *guilty* of this *disgraceful omission*. I “ should be *covered with shame* and confusion for my “ country, if I could suppose it capable of giving “ that omission its sanction ; and I hold it a sacred “ duty, in whatever station I may be placed, to “ contribute every exertion, and the little influence “ I possess, for their relief.”—He concluded with moving the following resolution :

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to inquire and report whether any, and what legislative provision is necessary for the relief of such American seamen as may have been impressed into the service of any foreign power—and also to report a mode of furnishing American seamen with such evidence of their citizenship as may protect them from foreign impressments in future.

Referred to a select Committee.

February 29th.

The Committee made their report, the substance of which was, that the impressment of American seamen by *foreign powers* was too *notorious* to need *proof*; and that the President of the United States shall send agents to *England* and the West Indies, in order to afford relief to such American *citizens* as have been illegally seized.

Mr. HARPER (*S. Carolina*) hoped when this resolution was committed to a select Committee, some statements would have been brought forward, some facts produced, upon which to found the proposed inquiry. The Committee have reported that they do not think it necessary to adduce any particular instances in which American seamen have been im-
pressed

pressed by foreign nations : the facts, they alleged, are too notorious to require particularizing. He could not suppose these Gentlemen would believe that the House could proceed to legislate on uncertain newspaper reports. He trusted they would afford some proof, who, what number, when, and where American seamen have been impressed. Until this was done, he should doubt the fact. He was heard, he believed, by Representatives from every port in the United States ; and if the fact was so notorious as to need no further evidence, he doubted not some of these Gentlemen would be able to give some account of the business.

If the facts were established, Mr. Harper believed there would be but one opinion on the propriety of granting relief ; but before they proceeded farther, some information was necessary respecting the existence of this abuse. He had applied to the office of the Secretary of State, and to other offices likely to afford information on the subject ; but he found no instance of the impressment complained of, in which redress had not been given. But if any such instances do exist, in which relief has been applied for and not obtained, Gentlemen from some of the seaports will be able to mention them. If not, he hoped the Committee would rise and recommit the report.

Mr. LIVINGSTON said, the present measure was intended to afford relief to such of their distressed fellow-citizens as had been illegally seized on the high seas. The Gentleman, he said, who brings forward objections to the proposed inquiry, was in his place when the resolution upon which the report of the Committee is founded, passed unanimously. Why did he not then come forward ? [Mr. Harper said he was not in the House at the time.]—The resolution does not direct the Committee to inquire into facts ; they were considered as notorious ; and nothing seemed necessary but to fix upon the best mode of
furnishing

furnishing relief. The Legislature of the United States have formerly had evidence, and they have acted upon it. If the Gentleman will look into the proceedings of the last session of Congress, he will find a considerable sum granted to Mr. Cutting, for relief of this distressed body of men. Some he relieved, others he did not. When the dignity of the nation, said he, is insulted in the persons of our fellow-citizens, it is necessary at least to make inquiry into their sufferings.

A remark had fallen, Mr. Livingston said, from the Member from South Carolina, which he wished to notice. He said he had applied to the office of the Secretary of State, and found there no complaint which had not been redressed. Now, he had waited upon the Secretary of State, as Chairman of the Committee, in vain, for information on the subject. The Secretary informed him, that he could not give him the evidence, which it appears he has given to the Member from South Carolina. How, he wished to know, happened it, that a Member who opposes the business in question, should be furnished with that information which was denied to a Member who supported it?

It is said, added Mr. Livingston, that we are attempting to legislate without evidence. Though no facts are at present before the House, it is notorious that numerous instances have been made known to Government, and the present measure is meant to inquire into the cases of sufferers, and remedy them as far as possible. It is admitted by the Member from South Carolina that facts have existed, but that they have been removed. If these grievances then, said he, have existed, let us prevent them in future. Let us not wait till it is too late to grant relief. The men, said he, who suffer by the depredations complained of, are at a great distance from their homes and friends, in foreign ports, dragged on board ten-
ders,

ders, and made to experience every hardship that can be conceived. And now, when a mode is proposed for the relief of these distressed citizens, evidence is called for! *If one of these men is confined in the East Indies, can evidence of his bondage be expected to be given here?* Such hardships have existed, and it was their business to prevent them from again occurring. He hoped, therefore, the Committee would not rise, as he trusted there was sufficient evidence on which to ground the inquiry.

Mr. HARPER wished to remark on what had fallen from the Member from New-York, on the Secretary of State's refusing information to certain members and giving it to others. He applied to the office of the Secretary of State, to learn whether there were any documents there to support the proposed inquiry, and was informed there were only two cases; in one of which application was made to the British Government: *four persons* were said to have been impressed; but on inquiry, it appeared, *that two of them were British subjects, and the other two had enlisted into the service.* The other complaint came to the office when the Secretary of State was much engaged in other concerns, but he believed relief was granted. This, he said, was verbal information; he had applied for written documents on the subject, and doubted not he should receive them as soon as other business would permit.

Mr. SWANWICK (*Pennsylvania*) said, the Member from S. Carolina had called for information; he conceived no particular information necessary. He could mention an instance in which he had immediate concern. A vessel of his going to the West Indies had all her hands taken out of her, and obliged to work the guns of an English frigate; and, on their expostulating, that though they were prisoners they did not wish to work the guns, they were threatened with whipping, and the Captain
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was told, if he interfered, he should be whipped and *sent home* to England in irons. If he had thought facts were wanting, by a single advertisement in one of the Philadelphia papers, they would have been overpowered with facts. But if he had done so, he supposed he should have been charged with raising dissatisfaction in the minds of the people, or with encouraging Jacobinical principles. He therefore did not do it. But, without going out of the walls of the House, he said, he found evidence sufficient. He read an extract from the communication of the Secretary of State, dated March 2, 1794, in which were mentioned the representations made by sundry merchants of Philadelphia (of whom he was one) respecting the impressment of American seamen. This document was thought sufficiently strong to make an article of instruction to Mr. Jay in his late negotiation; but, owing to certain difficulties, no specific agreement was entered into by him for their relief.

The plan now before the House, said Mr. Swanwick, is intended to remedy the difficulties which have been urged as obstacles in this business, by opening registers in which to enter every American seaman, by which may be known at any time the number of seamen belonging to the United States, and by means of which every such seaman would be possessed of a certificate of his *citizenship*.

Every one knows, said he, what has *been felt* on account of American seamen carried into *Algiers*. *No evidence was required with respect to their numbers, or how they were employed.* The united exertions of the whole American people *seemed to cry out* for their release, and the business, at length, has been effected. And let us not, said he, attend to our distressed citizens, in one part only, but in all parts of the world. Let us not, said he, *be too nice about evidence*. These men are generally *ignorant*, and
cannot

cannot give the necessary information ; he thought, however, they had information sufficient for legislating upon in the present case. He hoped, therefore, the report would not be recommitted, until the Committee had discussed the business.

Mr. TRACY (from *Connecticut*) believed that every Member in that House felt the propriety of extending the benefit of the laws to every class of citizens, and to none more than to American seamen. Some members seemed to suppose that the distresses of American seamen have been looked upon with apathy ; but if due attention had been paid to the efforts of Government, it would have been seen that they had always been duly attended to. It is well known that great difficulties arise when it is attempted to distinguish between *English and American seamen*. This has been the reason why ample regulations have not always taken place. He hoped the Government would be popular, and that the new members in the House would assist the old ones to render it more and more so ; but thought Government ought not to be charged with apathy without paying due attention to what Government had done.

Mr. Tracy proceeded to take notice of the resolutions proposed in the report. He inquired what good the agent to be sent to Great Britain would do. Are there seamen, said he, employed but at one place ? Had not the United States consuls at every port, and can they not do the business ? He wished for information on the subject. *A great part of the seamen were foreigners*, he said, and it would be very difficult to separate them. If the plan proposed, however, could be made to appear to be beneficial, he would heartily join in effecting the desired relief to the class of citizens alluded to.

Mr. GOODHUE (from *Massachusetts*) said the Member from New-York, on bringing forward this business,

finess, had charged Government with looking upon the distresses of American seamen with apathy, and *blushed* on account of its conduct towards them. He represented, he believed, twenty times the number of American seamen that that Gentleman represented: he was himself, indeed, formerly a seaman; yet he did not believe the evil complained of existed to any alarming degree. Mr. Cutting, it had been said, had relieved many seamen; that was in the year 1790. Last summer the British took many vessels bound to France, but they did not take the crews. There were some instances, he said, in which seamen had been impressed, and he should be in favour of every necessary step to afford them relief; but no obloquy should be thrown on Government. Neither does the evil exist to the extent it might have been supposed, when the business was brought forward. A Member from Pennsylvania had mentioned a particular instance: he could mention a particular instance of a French Captain who had so ill-treated some American seamen as to be cashiered, on a representation being made to the French Government.

Mr. DAYTON (from *New-Jersey*) said that he had not expected an opposition to the resolution under consideration on the ground of fact: that he could not have supposed any Member would have questioned the existence of the evils which the propositions were calculated to remedy. He entertained a belief that the impressment of American seamen, particularly on board of British ships of war, was a matter of too great notoriety to need any evidence at this time. But the Member from South Carolina, who manifested the most zealous opposition to these measures, had admitted that there had existed instances of this sort; and as it must follow that what had once existed might again exist, it behoved Congress to make provisions tending to prevent, or
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at least most speedily and efficaciously to remedy them.

Mr. Dayton declared that he heartily approved the object of the resolution, as originally proposed by the Member from New-York, and the general principles of the report founded thereon, as a question of humanity, and of great national policy. It was, however, with pain that he heard the worthy mover draw into unfavourable question the conduct of the Secretary of State, and indulge himself in some severe reflections and imputations upon that officer. Mr. Dayton ascribed it to an irritability, and perhaps an honest irritability, upon this subject so affecting and interesting to Americans. He ascribed it to a warmth of temper, in which, in this particular case, the cooler judgment of that Gentleman, and the knowledge of the real character and conduct of the Secretary of State, had no agency or influence. The expressions which had been uttered by some Gentlemen in the course of the discussion, tending to charge our Government with a criminal apathy and indifference towards this description of citizens, did by no means, Mr. Dayton said, meet with his approbation: he believed them to be unfounded; for he was persuaded that whenever it heard, it did whatever it could to relieve the seamen of the United States, and to obtain for those who unfortunately needed it, complete redress. Having said thus much in vindication of the conduct of the Government, he returned to the resolution itself, and declared himself its advocate. It contained, neither in its words nor spirit, any imputation upon the Executive of the sort hinted at.

In the former case every one must perceive it more than possible, that owing to distance and the time which must consequently be expended in the communication to, and remonstrance from our Government, an *American citizen* might be impressed

and compelled to serve months, perhaps years, in a service which he detested, *and possibly forced to apply the match to a cannon charged with balls aimed for the destruction of his friends.*

Mr. BOURNE (from *Rhode Island*) proposed to amend the resolution, by striking out that part of it which appoints an agent for Great Britain, and confines the sending of an agent to that part of the English possessions in the West Indies to which the greatest number of American vessels sail.

Mr. LIVINGSTON was pleased to see Gentlemen concur in endeavouring to form a plan for the relief of American seamen. It has been asked why the consuls were not intrusted with this business; the Committee considered, that as the consuls of the United States received no other recompense for their services than the dignity and consequence which their office gives them, they would not be likely to pay sufficient attention to a business of this kind. They considered the immense labour of Mr. Cutting to deliver the impressed American seamen. They supposed, therefore, if the duty were laid upon the consuls, a salary should be annexed to their office; but, as there is no consul in the West Indies, a special agent should be appointed. In order to bring a view of the business before the House, he would ask, how relief is to be afforded to a seaman who has been impressed? Suppose he is seized in London, he is sent down to Portsmouth. The agent must attend immediately, get certificates, pay fees of office, employ counsel, &c. to release a single seaman; a trouble, he believed, no consul would take. The Committee supposed that the solemnity of commissioning an agent especially on the business, would convince *foreign powers* that they would no longer *suffer the British*, or others, to exercise that power over American seamen which they themselves could not exercise. It is to be hoped also, that,

that, when the Government of Great Britain sees a step of this sort taken, it will give up the practice of seizing American seamen, and let them pass in quietness. If not, the agents employed could transmit to this country an account of what seamen were seized by them, and every particular respecting the same. This consideration influenced the Committee, and he trusted it would influence the House.

Mr. S. SMITH (from *Maryland*) said, that as the Member from South Carolina had called upon Gentlemen from seaports for evidence, if they were silent it would be supposed that no information could be given on the subject under discussion. He supposed he should be prevented from giving this information now, because the amendment of the first resolution was under consideration. [The House called for information.] He said he represented a port where the fact of American seamen being impressed by the British was *so notorious* that every man knew it. But how, said he, is this information to be got and transmitted to the Secretary of State? No complaint is likely to reach his office, except brought there by merchants. In his *own trade* he had frequent instances of this sort, almost in every voyage. He could not say the men impressed were always Americans, but they were men sailing under the authority of the United States. We have a flag; under that flag men are seized, and they have a right to expect, when seized, redress from Government. There is no difference between British and Algerines; for, by the former, they are compelled to fight against those whom they wish well, which is equal to any slavery that can be imposed. He said, that from one of his ships there were two New-England men impressed; one of whom being a stout, courageous man, wished to have defended himself against his assailants; but the supercargo said, No; this will risk the cargo of

the owner. This advice he gave, supposing Government would afford these men relief.

If the Member from South Carolina wished for *such information as would be received before a Court of Judicature, it could not be got.* Mr. Smith thought sufficient attention had not been paid by Government to *merchants and seamen.* Mr. Jay, in his communication to Lord Grenville, says, an impressment of American seamen had taken place, who had been forced to fight, &c. If this had not been so, it had not been written by Mr. Jay, nor would Lord Grenville have promised relief. He hoped this information would be thought sufficient.

It had been said that there were not many instances of American seamen impressed; but, suppose there were but one man, *and he a negro*, suffering under *the galling yoke of impressment*, it is the duty of Government to provide relief for that man. The same Member has said that the Quiberon vessels did not impress the crews of the ships; he said it was sufficient to take their flour and pay them nine dollars for what might have been sold the next day for twenty or upwards. Mr. Smith concluded by observing, that if we were a feeble nation, we had a right to expect justice; but he hoped we were not so feeble as some Gentlemen imagined.

Mr. GILES (from *Virginia*) was of opinion, with the Member from Rhode Island, that American citizens should be attended to in other countries, as well as in Great Britain. He had not heard of any *impressments* but by the British, but he had heard of *captivities*; and that House had heard of a French officer being cashiered for ill-treating American citizens; but it had heard no instance of Great Britain punishing officers for ill-treating American citizens. No: this marked the different characters of the two nations towards the Americans.

Mr.

Mr. SWANWICK rose to inform the House, that since he was in his place yesterday, he had been called upon with evidence on the subject now before the Committee, in consequence of the call made for it in the course of the debate. The instances he had given to him were, the case of Robert Norris, a native of Princeton in New-Jersey, and *five others* who sailed on board the American brig Matilda, Captain Burke, from Philadelphia, which sailed from this port in May last for Bourdeaux, and were on the 9th of July brought to by four British frigates, forcibly taken into the vessel, impressed, and compelled to go and serve on board one of the said frigates called the Stag, where they served four months, when the said Robert Norris made his escape from the frigate at Sheerness, at the risk of his life, and returned in January last to the United States. His companions, he believes, are yet in bondage. The other instance was the brig Sally, Captain Wilkins, which sailed from this port in May last bound to Madeira, and five days after leaving the Capes was brought to by the Rattlesnake sloop of war, Captain York, and the mate (*a native of Scotland*, but who had sailed for *many years* out of the United States) and one of the best seamen (an American) taken out. They were carried to Halifax, from whence the foremast-man made his escape, and arrived here the beginning of July. Before they arrived at Halifax, he informs, that fifteen men were taken out of American vessels. Mr. Swanwick read also an account from an owner of several other impressments.

Mr. SEDGWICK (from *Massachusetts*) said, he was yesterday prevented from attending the House by indisposition. The subject struck his mind, he said, in several points of view which had not been noticed. He was surprised why the business was undertaken in the way it was. No description of men, he said,

were more entitled to regard than seamen : but this did not reconcile the adoption of the subject in the manner proposed. The Executive, he was of opinion, would consider itself as charged with this business. An agent, who is neither consul nor minister, is an instrument unknown, an undefined character that would not be recognised. It was impossible, he said, for any two agents, one in Great Britain and the other in the West Indies, to gain information of the sufferings of seamen in different parts of the two countries, particularly in Great Britain. He called upon Gentlemen to say whether they had ever heard of such a character as they were proposing to create ? He said America had consuls in every part of the world, and if they have not, they ought to have salaries for the business. Why appoint agents, and what authority will they have ?

Mr. Sedgwick noticed the different kinds of American citizens, and the difficulties arising from the doctrine of inalienable right supported by the English ; and observed, that when two countries each claim a right to a man, no means but force were left to decide between them.

The resolution was amended, and a select Committee ordered to prepare a bill. The substance of which in the next *Censor*.

Now, extraordinary as it may seem, and much as the reader may be disappointed, I must absolutely decline making a single remark on this debate. I would, however, recommend it to him to give it an attentive perusal ; after which, by way of recreation, he may read the following dialogue :

Legislative Wrangling, à la Mode de Paris.

Mr. Livingston.—The seamen, sailing under the sanction of our national flag, have been violently forced into a service they abhor, cruelly torn from
their

their dear wives and smiling babes, and ignominiously scourged for asserting their privileges as citizens ! The country to which they looked for relief has regarded their sufferings with apathy and indifference. Three long, long years we have beheld their whippings and heard their lamentable cries ; yet, for three long, long years we have been silent spectators of the disgraceful scene ! We have begun a compact with their oppressors, in which these poor dear fellows look with longing eyes in vain for one little tiny article, one ray of hope ! *I blush*, that an American Minister could be *guilty* of this *disgraceful omission* !

Peter Porcupine.—Mr. Chairman, the Gentleman who spoke last, has described the sufferings of our injured fellow-citizens in a manner that does infinite honour to his feelings. He talks about *blushing* and *guilty disgraceful omissions* with a warmth peculiar to himself, and admirably calculated to produce what the players call stage effect. Indeed, Sir, I cannot help looking on ourselves as engaged in the performance of a tragedy here : the Gentleman has gone back 2203 years, even to the days of *Euripides*, for his model. The piece will certainly do us honour ; but it seems to be incomplete without a chorus to throw light on some parts of it, that in particular where he speaks of *blushing* ; and, as I have a few verses in my hand, which are not quite foreign to the subject, I beg leave to read them.

* “ In short, to run the Livingstonian round,
 “ Where ev’ry trick of knavery is found,
 “ Close at his heels trots cousin Peter R.
 “ And M——, a younger, feebler star :
 “ Two hopeful brothers of a hopeful breed,
 “ Two thrifty plants of well-approved seed,

* See Democratiad.

“ Who

- " Who long have tried, *by arts and measures base,*
- " To lift from filth the remnant of their race ;
- " A race so sunk, by habit so deprav'd,
- " So long by vice and infamy enslav'd ;
- " So weak, so haughty, pompous, proud, and mean,
- " Indeed so black, so shameful and obscene,
- " That nought but strength omnipotent can save
- " Their name deep sinking in oblivion's wave."

Charity begins at home, says the old proverb ; and so ought *blushing*, Mr. Chairman. One would think that a man to whom lines like these apply, need lend his cheek to blush for nobody, and particularly for the Governor of New-York, one of the brightest characters in this or any country. There is more wisdom, more honesty, more real patriotism in one curl, nay in one single hair of Mr. Jay's wig, than in all the skulls of all the Livingstons, from the days of St. Patrick down to the present hour.

Mr. Livingston.—The Gentleman seems to be paying me off *in my own way*.

Peter Porcupine.—No, Sir, by no means ; I am paying you at the rate of *twenty shillings in the pound*.

Mr. Livingston.—I see the Gentleman is a little nettled. The House know too well the value of what he advances to form a wrong estimate of it. I shall let him fling his dirt ; thank Heaven, it cannot soil my character.

Peter Porcupine.—True, Sir ; nor is it so malicious to fling dirt as to fling *stones*. I defy any one to say, that I or any of my *family* or *friends*, ever flung stones in order to knock out the brains of a man, whose arguments I was afraid to hear, because I knew them to be irresistible. The treatment of Mr. Hamilton is a stain, an everlasting stain, on the city of New-York. I do not scruple to say, without disparagement to a crowd of worthily celebrated men of whom this country may boast, that, after General Washington, this man has rendered it the
most

most essential services ; this very man whom a gang of foreign ruffians were hired to dispatch. Had one of the missiles hurled from their infamous hands struck him on the temple, you might have had the pleasure of seeing him expire at your feet, while we should have mourned the irreparable loss. Were I to draw your character, Sir, and place it by the side of that of Mr. Hamilton ; then you would have reason to blush indeed ; a die ten thousand times deeper than crimson would become your jaundiced cheek.

Mr. Swanwick.—The Gentleman last up seems to have lost sight of the question altogether. One would think he was contemplating protection to Mr. Hamilton instead of American seamen. I shall endeavour to bring him back to the subject before the Committee, reminding him, at the same time, that such personalities as he deals about him are very derogatory to the dignity of this House.

I am astonished that proofs of impressments are called for. When we heard of American seamen being prisoners in *Algiers*, no evidence was required with respect to numbers. The united exertions of the whole American people seemed to cry out for their release. Let us not be *too nice about evidence*. These men are *ignorant*, and cannot give the necessary information.

Peter Porcupine.—Mr. Chairman, I thank the Gentleman for his hint about personalities ; but he will allow, that I am as excusable as Mr. Livingston, who talked about the *shameful, guilty, and disgraceful* conduct of a most upright public Minister. I may not have the mellifluent eloquence of the Gentleman last up : I know I am a rough-hewn mortal ; but, as I am speaking to men, and not to an assembly of *little misses*, the want of that Gentleman's silver lisp may not amount to a total disqualification.

I shall

I shall now turn to what the Gentleman has advanced on the subject before us.—He begs us “not to be *too nice* about evidence.” This is going a step beyond the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris. There the *accuser* is heard, and if the jury are satisfied of the guilt of the prisoner, *no evidence is heard in his defence*. This is not being over-nice; but we are required to be still less nice. The merciful French hear the witnesses against the prisoner at any rate; but we are called upon to give our verdict, without hearing any at all. Poor unfortunate Great Britain is to be condemned upon the bare indictment. One comes forward and accuses her; she holds up her feeble emaciated hand, and pleads, NOT GUILTY, my Lords. Some of us wish to hear what can be urged against her; but the Gentleman tells us not to be too nice about evidence; that she is a notorious offender; that “*every man knows it*,” “though *no one* can give *regular information* of it;” and, in short, that she ought to have been annihilated long ago. In vain do we, like Pontius Pilate, ask, *For what?* Still they cry with one voice, Let her be crucified! Let her be crucified!—And is it thus we treat our poor old mother in the hour of her distress?

The Gentleman produces, as a sufficient reason for our not being *too nice*, the great “*ignorance of the citizens* impressed.” And do I hear this language from Mr. Swanwick? Is it possible for the people to be ignorant, while under the rays of this focus of science? Do I live, Mr. Chairman, to hear the words *ignorance* and *citizens* articulated in the same breath? How long, Sir, have our ears been dinned with, *an informed people, an enlightened people*; with the destruction of superstition and prejudice, and the luminous close of the eighteenth century? And shall we now be told, that our *citizens* are *ignorant*? that they are such stupid brutes

brutes as not to be able to give an account of what has befallen them ? not even of their imprisonments and their stripes ?

But Mr. Swanwick, after two or three days diligent search, brings us something like an account of some men impressed from a vessel *of his own* ; and this, he insists, is evidence enough for any reasonable man. Thus, when a sailor can be brought to say, that he has been impressed and scourged, he is an *enlightened citizen* ; but when he cannot, he is a poor ignorant devil, “ not capable of giving the necessary information.”

The Gentleman told us something about *Algiers* ; and, though I cannot for my soul perceive why *Algiers* was dragged into the debate, I look upon myself as entitled to say a word or two in reply. “ The united exertions,” says he, “ of the whole American people seemed to cry out for the release-ment of the prisoners in *Algiers*.” I believe, Sir, that the people in general were much affected with the fate of those unfortunate men, and that, had proper measures been taken to call their feelings into action, the prisoners would long ago have been restored to their families and country, without the interposition of Government ; but no one will deny, that these measures should have originated with the *merchants* ; that the example should have been given, and, indeed, the greatest part of the money bestowed, by themselves. Was this the case ? They did, indeed, “ cry out ;” they might, for ought I know, make fervent applications to Heaven ; but the applications to their purses, which had been filled by the toil and hardships of these poor fellows, were very faint and ineffectual. A subscription was opened in this city ; Mr. Swanwick was himself one of the receivers ; and I now call upon him to say, how much his brethren subscribed, and how much he subscribed himself. I call upon him to say, whe-
I
ther

ther a company of *foreign players*, yea, even English players, did not subscribe more than all the merchants of this great, rich, and flourishing city! —Here was “apathy and indifference,” indeed! Here Mr. Livingston might have seen reason to “*blush* for a *disgraceful omission*!”

I am not sorry that the little Gentleman bestowed a few of his silver sounds on the slaves in Algiers, as it furnishes me with an opportunity of comparing the conduct of the friends of the resolution towards those men, and that which they now hold towards seamen impressed by the English. The slaves in Algiers could have been at any time ransomed, and we well know that they were *all* real *Americans*. The seamen impressed are indefinite; we know not who or where they are; all we know about them is, that they are *all*, or nearly so, subjects of the King of Great Britain. Now, how comes it, that these gentlemen show such amazing zeal, and are so deeply touched with what they gravely call the *sufferings* of the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, while they show such indifference for our own citizens? This seems totally unaccountable; yet, Mr. Chairman, I think I can explain it in a few words. The impressment of *British* seamen by the British forms a subject of opposition to the treaty; any measures taken to resist that impressment may lead to a war; the expense attending the agents sent out will come from the public purse, and not from the purse of these gentlemen. None of these weighty reasons existed with respect to the slaves in Algiers; and therefore they might have remained there, till they had rotted in their chains, had not that Government which these sticklers for humanity now accuse of apathy and indifference, been much more vigilant and humane than they.

I have much more to say on this subject, Sir; but as the hour of Turkey and Madeira is at hand,

I sit down, in order to give the House an opportunity of adjourning.

(*To be concluded in the Censor for April.*)

Narrative of the Suicide of the Argus of New-York.

OF all the acts arising from folly, wickedness, or despair, that of suicide is best calculated to awaken curiosity. It is so hard to be accounted for from the common evils incident to life, and is such a direct violation of the first law of nature, that a man must possess an extraordinary degree of stoicism, not to feel some inclination to be informed of the cause. For my part, I felt this inclination so forcibly, upon hearing of the fate of the renowned *Argus*, that I could not rest till I had obtained a circumstantial account of the whole affair. I trust, it is unnecessary to say how my breast has been wrung by this melancholy relation; nevertheless, I should not think I discharged my duty as *Censor*, did I neglect to impart it to my readers.

By way of preface to this narrative, it may not be amiss to give some account of the wonderful two-legged creature who is the subject of it.

His name indicates that he has a hundred eyes, which is a real fact. These eyes, like those of the beast in the vision, are divided between his fore and hinder parts; but in other respects they resemble those of the lamper-eel: that is, they emit filth and noxious matter, in place of admitting light; or, in other words, they answer none of the useful purposes of this organ in other animals. He is extremely vindictive and ferocious; and though his stupid eyes are too dim to wound in the manner of the basilisk, yet when he has no other means of vengeance left, he drops tears that scald and burn like *aqua fortis*.

These

These qualities could not fail to recommend him to the great Citizen Genet, of seditious and insolent memory. He very soon became the Citizen's chief favourite, and is supposed to have drunk deeply at the fountain of his largesses. From motives of gratitude, therefore, he was desperately attached to the cause of the French Republic. He has written, sworn, and lied in that cause; and, of all the tools of faction, has, perhaps, been the most steady to his trust. He has chanted the *Marseillois Hymn*, and celebrated all the successful massacres of his benefactors, with that kind of savage joy that animates the ravages of beasts of prey.

But, alas! how transitory are all sublunary things! The disgraceful defeats, or, to use their own expression, "the *little success*," of his masters, during the last campaign, plunged him into a state of dejection, from which he was only raised to be sunk over head and ears in despair. Like many other charitable patriots, he was buoyed up by the hope of a rebellion, or, to give it the fashionable term, of a *revolution*, in Great Britain; and this event was reduced to a certainty by the account concerning the *Sedition Bills*, which our industrious, and faithful, and impartial newsmongers spread through the country.

This, then, was the rock of our *Argus's* hope: still, however, he had his doubts and his fears, and these were left to fluctuate during the wide chasm in our foreign intelligence. Nothing torments and harasses the mind like suspense. The poor *Argus* became pensive and melancholy, was often seen to stop in the middle of the street, and heard to mutter incoherent expressions about rebellion and *Sedition Bills*, and Pitt and King George, or Citizen Guelph, as he called him.

On Wednesday, the fatal 23d of March, about a quarter after six in the morning, he was perceived with

with a spying-glass in his hand, walking on the battery opposite the port. He was observed to stop often and clap the glass to one of his eyes, then scratch his head, clench his fist, and give other evident tokens of anger or madness. At last, turning himself towards the water, he laid the telescope to his shoulder, as if it were a gun, and, after making a motion to fire, uttered a loud cry, and ran down to the beach. Two labourers, who had viewed him all this time, now lost sight of him. One of them hastened to the spot, where he found the poor distracted wretch belabouring a log which had been thrown up by the tide. His left hand was all over blood, and the telescope was reduced to splinters, except about four inches of it, which he still gripped fast in his right. Upon being asked what was the matter? "Look," says he, holding his bloody hand to the man, "look, my lad, that's the heart's blood of Pitt: no pity! no pity! let's to the p-lace, and cut all their throats!"

The other workman now came up; and the two together, with the help of a third person, made shift to get him home, without further mischief. This was not effected, however, without some danger; for, as he conceived himself going to Newgate, as a preparative for a voyage to Botany Bay, there is not a mean of annoyance that he did not make use of, or an execration that he did not vomit forth.

When he was put to bed, he swore he was on a rack a million times crueller than that of Damien. "Rascals," says he, "I have only killed a Minister. I have only done my duty as a citizen and a patriot." These ravings continued for nearly two hours, after which, having been copiously bled, he dropt off to sleep.

About four in the afternoon he awaked, when to the joy of his friends, and the surprise of every body,

he seemed perfectly restored to his senses. He ate a basin of panada, drank a little wine and water, and appeared quite recovered, except from the bruises he received from the ribs of Minister Log.

Just as things were taking this happy turn, one of his printers brought word that a ship was that moment arrived from Liverpool, bringing news to the end of February. This imprudent communication was the cause of an immediate relapse. He jumped up, and, without either hat or coat, ran down to the wharf, from whence he got on board the vessel. "Well," says he, with a voice and look that scared the whole crew, "well, rascals, you are come at last. Tell me this moment, are the *Bills* passed?"—The Captain answered, *Yes*, "What!" says the raving *Argus*, "the *Bills* passed, and no revolution!" *None*, says the Captain.—"What! the English are not cutting one another's throats yet?"—*No*, says the humane tarpawling, *more is the pity; but let us hope, for the love of God, that they will begin soon*.—This charitable informant had hardly done speaking, when our poor unfortunate friend made an attempt to throw himself over the quarter-deck. Being prevented here, he assumed a placid mien, pretended he was only in a joke, though it was evident to every one he was but too much in earnest. Soon after this he slipped from among the crowd (which was very considerable on account of the great news that was expected), and got away on the fore-castle, where he was preparing to hang himself. He had even got the cord round his neck, when he was perceived by a man upon the yards. His intentions were now so manifest, that it would have been downright inhumanity to neglect him any longer. He was conducted home by some of the citizens, and put under the care of his own people.

Arrived

Arrived once more at his home, he seems to have been resolved to defer the execution of his desperate design no longer. He dissembled, however; talked very connectedly; inquired whether the paper was nearly composed or not, and even sat down and took his pen, under pretence of writing an article of news. By these means he prevailed on his people to leave him alone; two of them, however, thought it prudent to remain at the head of the stairs, in order to be at hand, should he make any attempt on his life. Their suspicions were but too well founded;

At the end of half an hour's dead silence, they heard him utter a most dreadful groan, and, presently after, fall on the floor. They attempted to force the door, but it was too securely fastened. They then applied to the wainscot, and, at last, made an opening, when, shocking to relate! they found their dear master weltering in his blood, his throat being cut nearly across. A surgeon was instantly called, and every assistance given; but, I am sorry to add, that, when this morning's post came away, there was little hope of recovery.

The interval between his entering his apartment and perpetration of the horrid deed, was, it seems, employed in writing a farewell letter to his sister and only relation, the *Aurora* of Philadelphia. I am promised a copy of this letter, which, if obtained, shall find a place in the next *Censor*.

It is said, with what truth I do not pretend to ascertain, that the instrument with which the fatal gash was given, was one of the long *couteaux* employed in the prisons of Paris, and was a *keepsake* from a very intimate friend now in France.

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POLITICAL CENSOR.

No. III.

*Debates in the House of Representatives.**(Continued from Page 296.)*

MR. S. SMITH observed, that, "were there but *one man*, and he a *negro*, suffering under the galling yoke of imprisonment, it was the duty of the Government to provide *relief* for that man." Now, Mr. Smith, have you not several negroes? How easy, then, is it for you to do an act of philanthropy, without application to the Government, and without plunging the country into a dangerous dispute with another nation? You will say, without doubt, that your negroes are not suffering under the galling "yoke of impressment;" but, where is the difference whether they are under the yoke of the British, or under your yoke? Slavery is still slavery; nor is the yoke the weight of a hair lighter, for lasting *durante vita*, or because it is imposed by a man who pretends to be the advocate of liberty.

Nothing that I have said, or shall say on this subject, is intended to justify the British in their impressment of *Americans*: I look upon their conduct in this respect as tyrannical; as the effect of that overbearing insolence which is the characteristic of but too many among their subaltern officers; and I think that redress ought to be obtained with all convenient speed. But I here confine myself to *Americans alone*, by which word I mean, those who were born in the United States, or were inhabitants of them at the

peace of 1783, not including *deserters from the British during the war*. These are Americans, and no others are; and I venture to predict, that whatever schemes the Congress may fall on, whatever registers, certificates, or oaths of civism they may think proper to furnish sailors with, Great Britain will ever seize hers where she finds them.

Mr. LIVINGSTON said, that "it would be no difficult matter to prove, that foreigners naturalized since the declaration of independence, were entitled to the protection of the Government."—He attempted to prove this, but I shall not contradict him, for the thing is in itself so evidently absurd, as to need no remark. As to what he pleases to call the *naturalization of foreigners* (whole cargoes at a time, or otherwise), the rights of citizenship they enjoy under their new masters, &c. shall be reserved for a future opportunity. It will be sufficient to add, on this article, that a bill was at last agreed to for appointing agents for the relief and protection of impressed seamen. But if these agents are to be employed (as the instruments of a predominant faction) to embroil this country in a war, it were far better they had never been appointed.

Papers relative to the Treaty with Great Britain.

March 2.

Mr. LIVINGSTON (from *N. York*) said, that it was generally understood that some important constitutional question would be discussed, when the treaty lately concluded between this country and Great Britain should come under consideration: it was very desirable, therefore, that every document which might tend to throw light on the subject should be before the House. For this purpose he would move the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to lay before this House, a copy
" of

“ of the instructions given to the Minister of the
“ United States who negotiated the treaty with Great
“ Britain, communicated by his message on the 1st
“ inst. together with the correspondence and docu-
“ ments relative to the said treaty.”—Ordered to lie
on the table.

To this resolution the following exception was afterwards added:—“ Excepting such of the said
“ papers as any existing negotiation may render im-
“ proper to be disclosed.”

Mr. TRACY (*Connecticut*) requested the Gentleman who brought forward this resolution to give his reasons for doing so. He had at present only told the House that, as the constitutionality of the treaty might be discussed, he thought it necessary to propose the measure. It was well known by every man in that House, that much difference of opinion, and much sensibility, had been occasioned by the treaty in question all over the Union. He thought that the only way to treat the matter fairly, would be, for every Member on that floor to come forward and express himself openly. Perhaps the happiness of the country might depend upon the issue of their deliberations upon it. In order to avoid all bitterness and misunderstanding, it would be best for members to come forward at first and state their opinions fully. He therefore asked, why this motion was made? If made barely to enable the House to examine into the constitutionality of the treaty, he thought that might be determined by comparing it with the Constitution itself. It may be thought necessary that these papers be produced in order to impeach any of the persons employed in the negotiation, or the President. He wished to know for what purpose these papers are called. He thought to declare the whole intention of the motion would be a mean of harmonizing the House upon the subject. However, until he knew the real intention, he would hope it was

a good one. If he disagreed from the honourable Mover, he should give his reasons for it. It was a delicate subject. That they had a right to the papers called for, for a good purpose, could not be doubted; but unless the House had real occasion for them, the President would be justified in keeping them where they are. What, said he, do we want with these papers? Is it to make a better treaty, or to do away the one made? He wished to know the Mover's reasons fully.

Mr. LIVINGSTON said, he had never any wish to conceal his intention, as he trusted he never should have any which he should be ashamed to avow. The Gentleman asked with propriety for information; he answered, his motion was made for the purpose of gaining information. He asked, to what particular point? It may be to all the points he has mentioned. It was impossible to know, until the papers were before him. He wished for information: the result would depend upon the information received. He did not know that the impeachment of any person would be determined upon by that House. He did not think so himself; but he thought it necessary they should have an opportunity of making a fair judgment of the matter. They were the proper persons to whom was delegated the power of punishing officers; they ought, therefore, to have full opportunity of judging of their conduct. It was simply for information that the resolution asked, not only with respect to the officers who were employed on the occasion, but with respect to the thing itself. He believed that House had the power to carry into effect any treaty, or not. It was for this purpose that he wanted information; and if the House were of the same opinion, they would support the motion. Something had been said as to the delicacy of the subject. If, said he, any reason of state will not permit the President to give the papers they asked for, he will give his reasons for refusing them. He meant

meant not to invade the rights of any branch of Government; it was information which he sought for.

Mr. GILES (*Virginia*) said he would briefly state the reasons which induced him to support the passing of the resolutions which lay on the table. The Gentleman from Connecticut had justly said that the treaty had caused great sensibility throughout the United States. It was on this account that he wanted that information which they had a right to expect, and without which they could not proceed to consider the subject. If he were to judge of the treaty itself, it would not allay that sensibility which had been raised against it; but he trusted the information which was called for would be of a sort to reconcile the public mind. If no information was given, he must own it would have an unfavourable impression on his mind. He wished, therefore, for information.

Mr. MURRAY (*Maryland*) observed, that if the Mover of the resolution before the House had clearly declared that the object of it was for information, he should not have an objection to it; but the explanation given led him to believe that it had in view the establishment of a very alarming doctrine—no less than to determine, whether the treaty shall be carried into effect, or not. By the Constitution he said the treaty was become the law of the land, and obligatory on all the citizens of the United States. From the explanation given, he should give the measure his decided negative; for if that House had the power to decide on the legality of the treaty, in vain has the Constitution given power to the President and Senate to make treaties. It appeared to him that the House had no right to inquire into the particular ground upon which this treaty has become the law of the land, since it appears that the President and Senate have acted agreeably to the Constitution. It would be a solecism in government to say,

say, that there were two powers which could control each other. He thought the resolution unconstitutional, as it was predicated on the right of that House to interfere with the power placed in the President and Senate to make treaties. In order to justify this motion, the House should first determine the treaty to be unconstitutional, and that it ought not to be the law of the land. If it was agreed that that House had a right to examine all the secrets attending negotiations, a plan will be adopted which may open secrets that may be of great injury to the nation. Every man knows, said he, that in diplomatic transactions there are certain secret negotiations; he did not know that it was the case in this, but it might be so. To carry into effect this resolution, appeared to him a direct invasion upon the constitutional rights placed in the President in conjunction with the Senate. He doubted whether the Senate could make this demand.

Thus did the discussion wander from its object. This motion of Mr. Livingston was the signal of hostile preparation. The friends of the treaty took the alarm; and the question became, not whether the House had a right to call for the papers or not, but whether their sanction was necessary to the execution of a treaty.

The debates occupied the House and the public during nearly a month. It is incompatible with my plan to give the speeches at length, many of which do honour to the hearts, and many others to the heads of the speakers: among the former may be noticed those of Messrs. Buck, Sedgwick, Harper, and William Smith; among the latter, those of Messrs. Gallatin and Giles.

The resolution was finally carried, and on the 31st of March the House received the following message from the President, in reply.

“ Gentlemen

“ Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

“ With the utmost attention I have considered
“ your resolution of the 24th inst. requesting me to
“ lay before your House a copy of the instructions to
“ the Minister of the United States who negotiated
“ the treaty with the King of Great Britain, toge-
“ ther with the correspondence and other docu-
“ ments relative to that treaty, excepting such of
“ the said papers as any existing negotiation may
“ render improper to be disclosed.

“ In deliberating upon this subject, it was impos-
“ sible for me to lose sight of the principle which
“ some have avowed in its discussion, or to avoid
“ extending my views to the consequences which
“ must flow from the admission of that principle.

“ I trust that no part of my conduct has ever
“ indicated a disposition to withhold any informa-
“ tion which the Constitution has enjoined upon
“ the President as a duty to give, or which could
“ be required of him by either House of Congress
“ as a right; and with truth I affirm, that it has
“ been, as it will continue to be, while I have the
“ honour to preside in the government, my constant
“ endeavour to harmonize with the other branches
“ thereof, so far as the trust delegated to me by the
“ people of the United States, and my sense of the
“ obligation it imposes to preserve, protect, and de-
“ fend the Constitution, will permit.

“ The nature of foreign negotiations requires
“ caution; and their success must often depend on
“ secrecy; and even when brought to a conclusion,
“ a full disclosure of all the measures, demands, or
“ eventual concessions which may have been pro-
“ posed or contemplated, would be extremely im-
“ politic; for this might have a pernicious in-
“ fluence on future negotiations; or produce im-
“ mediate inconveniencies, perhaps danger and
“ mischief,

“ mischief, in relation to other powers. The neces-
 “ sity of such caution and secrecy was one cogent
 “ reason for vesting the power of making treaties in
 “ the President, with the advice and consent of the
 “ Senate; the principle on which that body was
 “ formed confining it to a small number of mem-
 “ bers. To admit then a right in the House of
 “ Representatives to demand, and to have as a
 “ matter of course, all the papers respecting a ne-
 “ gotiation with a foreign power, would be to estab-
 “ lish a dangerous precedent.

“ It does not occur, that the inspection of the
 “ papers asked for can be relative to any purpose
 “ under the cognizance of the House of Represent-
 “ atives, except that of an impeachment; which
 “ the resolution has not expressed. I repeat that I
 “ have no disposition to withhold any information
 “ which the duty of my station will permit, or the
 “ public good shall require to be disclosed; and,
 “ in fact, all the papers affecting the negotiation
 “ with Great Britain were laid before the Senate
 “ when the treaty itself was communicated for their
 “ consideration and advice.

“ The course which the debate has taken on the
 “ resolution of the House, leads to some observa-
 “ tions on the mode of making treaties under the
 “ Constitution of the United States.

“ Having been a member of the General Con-
 “ vention, and knowing the principles on which
 “ the Constitution was formed, I have ever enter-
 “ tained but one opinion on this subject; and from
 “ the first establishment of the government to this
 “ moment, my conduct has exemplified that opi-
 “ nion, that the power of making treaties is ex-
 “ clusively vested in the President, by and with
 “ the advice and consent of the Senate, pro-
 “ vided two thirds of the Senators present concur;
 “ and that every treaty so made and promulgated,

“ thence-

“ thenceforward becomes the law of the land. It
“ is thus the treaty-making power has been under-
“ stood by foreign nations ; and in all the treaties
“ made with them *we* have declared, and *they* have
“ believed, that, when ratified by the President,
“ with the advice and consent of the Senate, they
“ become obligatory. In the construction of the
“ Constitution every House of Representatives has
“ heretofore acquiesced ; and until the present time
“ not a doubt or suspicion has appeared, to my
“ knowledge, that this construction was not the
“ true one. Nay, they have more than acqui-
“ esced ; for, till now, without controverting the
“ obligation of such treaties, they have made all the
“ requisite provisions for carrying them into effect.

“ There is also reason to believe that this con-
“ struction agrees with the opinions entertained by
“ the State conventions, when they were delibe-
“ rating on the Constitution, especially by those
“ who objected to it, because there was not required,
“ in *commercial treaties*, the consent of two thirds of
“ the whole number of the members of the Se-
“ nate, instead of two thirds of the Senators pre-
“ sent, and because in treaties respecting territo-
“ rial and certain other rights and claims, the con-
“ currence of three fourths of the whole number
“ of the members of both Houses, respectively, was
“ not made necessary.

“ It is a fact declared by the General Convention,
“ and universally understood, that the Constitution of
“ the United States was the result of a spirit of amity
“ and mutual concession. And it is well known
“ that, under this influence, the smaller States were
“ admitted to an equal representation in the Senate,
“ with the larger States ; and that this branch of the
“ Government was invested with great powers ; for
“ on the equal participation of those powers, the
“ sovereignty

“ sovereignty and political safety of the smaller States were deemed essentially to depend.

“ If other proofs than these, and the plain letter of the Constitution itself, be necessary to ascertain the point under consideration, they may be found in the Journals of the General Convention, which I have deposited in the office of the department of State. In those journals it will appear, that a proposition was made, ‘that no treaty should be binding on the United States which was not ratified by a law,’ and that the proposition was explicitly rejected.

“ As, therefore, it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the assent of the House of Representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty; as the treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on these the papers called for can throw no light; and as it is essential to the due administration of the Government, that the boundaries fixed by the Constitution between the different departments should be preserved; a just regard to the Constitution and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request.”

REMARKS.—Nobody will deny, that the House of Representatives have a *right* to call for papers of every kind, relative to matters laid before them; nor will any one deny, that the President has an equal *right* to refuse them. The necessity of the call can alone render it justifiable in point of propriety; and, consequently, if no such necessity exists, a refusal on the part of the President cannot be improper.

Three reasons were urged in favour of the call; 1. Something might be discovered that would justify an impeachment; 2. The papers might throw light on some parts of the treaty; 3. They might contain something,

something, which would tend to reconcile the people to that instrument.

With respect to the first of these—*discovering grounds for an impeachment*—I would ask, who could have been the object of this impeachment? Not the negotiator certainly; for, whatever might be his conduct at the court of London, it had received the solemn sanction of the President and Senate. He was charged with powers to make a treaty; he had done so; and those who had dispatched him, had approved and ratified the result of his negotiation; if, therefore, there was any blame, it must fall on those under whose orders he acted, and not on him.

I presume the idea of impeaching the Senate never entered the brains of even Virginians, and of course the President must be the object. But *the papers might throw light on some parts of the treaty*. Now I, who am no statesman, God knows, have read this treaty, and I think I understand it perfectly well. It is in good plain English, and, though that may be one of its principal faults with the quibblers from the South, yet it ought to render explanatory papers unnecessary. Will any one of the opposition members say, that he does not understand the treaty? If he says so, will it not be necessary to send him back to his constituents, or furnish him with an interpreter? I confess that the outlandish gentlemen, such as Mr. *Gallatin* for example, may experience serious difficulties on this account; but is this to authorize a call that would divulge all the secrets of the State? would it not be infinitely better to have the treaty translated into *Italian*, or, like the French decrees of fraternity, into all the living languages? Besides, let it be remembered, that the papers called for are in English as well as the treaty, and of course those who do not understand the latter would not understand the former.

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I would by no means insinuate here, that all the opposition members, who are not foreigners, are adequate to a full comprehension of the treaty; for though, like the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, they talk tolerably good prose, without knowing it, their speeches fully prove that they know but little of the merits of the treaty. And to them, as to foreigners, the same question will apply: If they cannot understand the treaty, how are they to understand the papers? Most people, I believe, will allow, that a diplomatic correspondence is more difficult to analyse than the instrument in question; and if so, how is it possible that these contracted minds should derive light from such a correspondence?

Some of the members of opposition are, however, of a different stamp. These did not want light; they are blessed with that in the extreme degree. The rays strike on their minds with such force as to blind every principle of honour and honesty. From the finesse of these gentlemen what could have been expected from the papers? That profound politician patriot *Madison* found out *five* different constructions of one single clause of the Constitution; and perhaps he would have found five times the number of every clause in the dispatches. Where or when could this have ended?

It is something truly astonishing, that papers, or any thing else, should, at this late hour, be called for, in order to throw light on the British treaty. There have been, upon a moderate computation, more than fifty volumes in folio written and printed on the subject; public meetings have been held on it in every corner of the Union; petitions by hundreds have been given in for and against it; and the instrument itself has been in the hands of every one during the space of eight months. Where, then, do these people come from, who now want papers to
throw

throw light on the subject; if, indeed, they can prove, that they have been buried in the western woods, plotting "political sins" anew, or constantly occupied in driving their negro *constituents* to the tobacco-fields and home again, I shall be ready to make an allowance for their ignorance; but if they cannot prove this, if they have enjoyed the same means of information as those enjoyed by every man in the *free* States, and are yet ignorant of the merits or demerits of the treaty, I must absolutely declare them too stupid to judge of it at all, and totally unworthy of having an intricate diplomatic correspondence submitted to their examination.

But, allowing that the papers might have thrown light on some parts of the treaty, how was this necessary to their deciding on granting the supplies necessary to carry it into effect? for it is for this purpose alone that a treaty is laid before them. We will suppose, for a moment, that they had discovered that Mr. Jay had gone beyond, or fallen short of his instructions; nay, we will even suppose that they had found as indubitable proofs of English corruption, as they have had of French corruption; how could that circumstance have affected their decision? If they have a right of exercising their judgment with respect to a treaty, it must be on the treaty itself; and that was before them. The means employed in the negotiation could not alter the instrument itself. It has a precise meaning, couched in terms which cannot be misunderstood; and on that meaning alone could they found their decision. What an idiot of a connoisseur should we think him, who, upon the sight of a picture, should call for the pencils with which it was painted, in order to form an opinion of its merits! Yet, exactly such was the call for papers relative to the treaty.

There was, however, another reason assigned: *these papers might contain something, which would ten*

to reconcile the people to the instrument. I could have excused every thing but this gross, this palpable hypocrisy. What! did these opposition members desire to see something that would reconcile the people to the treaty?—these very men who had, in ways more or less direct, stipulated with the mob to oppose it. It is a fact well known, that the leaders among them had all written or made public speeches representing it as inimical to the rights and liberties of the people; the Gentleman who brought forward the resolution was one of those who took the lead at New-York, when the *French* and American flags were hoisted against it, and when it was absolutely burnt before the house of Governor Jay. And yet these very men now pretend, that they wish for something that may reconcile the people to it! What an opinion must they have of the President, to suppose him open to such barefaced deception! When men have long succeeded in this, or any way, they are apt to over-rate their talents; it is not therefore so very wonderful that they should imagine it is as easy to cajole General Washington as their deluded constituents.

I have now done with the *pretended* motives of the resolution (on which I must confess I have taken up too much of the reader's time), and shall come to what I imagine to be the *real* motives of it.

To begin at the fountain-head, the mind from which the mischievous and malicious idea first issued: it is tolerably well known, that the *Livingstons* harbour a mortal hatred against the family of his Excellency Governor *Jay*, which hatred is undoubtedly paid back with contempt. The characters of the parties sufficiently explain the cause. This is not the first instance of private resentment finding its way into public assemblies. Something in these papers might have been found, which, if properly handled, would have impressed on the minds

minds of the ignorant, a belief that Mr. Jay had abandoned their interests; that he was partial to the English nation (which alone is a sufficient crime), and that he felt little anxiety for the success of the French. The slightest expression, leaning this way, would have been tortured into the most odious signification by men who are capable of finding five different constructions of a simple sentence. There could not be imagined a more complete method of rendering the worthy Envoy odious to the majority, *in numbers*, of his State, and of preparing the way for his being rejected at another election.

But though this might be the principal object with the "*honourable* Mover," as he has been ironically called, yet we must not suppose all the members of Opposition to have no higher views. They undoubtedly participate with Mr. *Livingston* in a detestation of the Envoy. I presume this, because it is natural; but their projects seem to be much more extensive than the ousting of a Governor. Their eyes are fixed on another quarter, where a nobler game presents itself. In short, if I have any penetration, their plan is nothing short of driving the President of the United States from the post he now fills.

If there be any one who, measuring the hearts of others by his own, looks upon this as impossible, I request him to turn his eye to the insults that have been heaped on this man during the present session of Congress. The fact is, nobody doubts of this; and the only thing that surprises me, is, nobody attempts to render the destructive project abortive.

It may be asked, what views can the Opposition have? To this question I answer by another: what views have the disorganizers in every country? What views could the *nobleman* have who proposed, in France, the abolition of *nobility*? What views had the *bishop* who proposed the abolition of *religion*?

What views had the silly Lord Stanhope when he proposed an imitation of the French *sans-culottes*, and declared *he would like to be hanged*? Is there any thing too stupid, absurd, and vile, to be wished for by those who are the partisans of France?

That they may not succeed, is surely the sincere desire of every man who wishes well to his country. But the event is, at least, doubtful. It requires fortitude something more than human, to endure such treatment as the President has received, without yielding to the dictates of disgust. There is hardly a man on earth but himself, that would not have retired long ago. For my part, I should have hurled the papers in their face, in the midst of their quibbling and spiteful harangues, sent them my resignation, and retired to my home. Happily, General Washington is a man of another character. But it is not reasonable to hope that he will bear this tantalizing for ever: there is a certain point beyond which the patience and fortitude of no man can go; and should his ungrateful enemies surpass it, we must expect to be left adrift in the storm.

I have hitherto deferred giving the reader the Ayes and Noes on the call for papers, in order that they may appear in this place, after the motives of the resolution have been, as I presume, fairly stated. Here they follow; and the reader will do well to recollect, that, however they may shift hereafter, this is the list to which he may at all times refer, to know who are the friends and who are the enemies of the government, constitution, peace, and prosperity of the United States.

AYES.—Messieurs Baily, Baird, Baldwin, Benton, Blount, Brent, Bryan, Burges, Cabel, *Christie*, Claibourne, Clopton, Coles, Dearborn, *Dent*, *Duval*, Earl, *Findley*, Franklin, *Gallatin*, Gillespie, Giles, Gregg, Greenup, Grove, Hampton, Hancock, Harrison, *Hathorn*, *Huvers*, Heath, Holland, Jackson,

Jackson, *Kitchell*, *Livingston*, Locke, *W. Lyman*, *Maclay*, Macon, Madison, Milledge, Moore, *Muhlenberg*, New, Nicholas, Orr, Page, Parker, *Patton*, Preston, Richard, Rutherford, Sherborn, Israel Smith, *Samuel Smith*, *Sprigg*, *Swanwick*, Tatem, *Van-Courtlandt*, *Varnum*, Venable, Wienn.—62.

NAYS.—Messieurs *Bourne*, *Bradbury*, *Buck*, *Coit*, *Cooper*, *A. Foster*, *D. Foster*, *Freeman*, *Gill*, *Gilman*, *Glen*, *Goodhue*, *Goodrich*, *Grifwald*, *Harper*, *Hartley*, *Hillhouse*, *Hindman*, *Kittera*, *S. Lyman*, *Malbone*, *Murray*, *Reed*, *Sedgwick*, *Sitgreaves*, *Jeremiah Smith*, *N. Smith*, *Isaac Smith*, *W. Smith*, *Swift*, *Thatcher*, *Thomas*, *Thompson*, *Tracey*, *Van-Allen*, *Wadsworth*, *Williams*.—37.

It is a truth, which cannot be too often repeated, that the opposers of the British treaty are, for the most part, men who have long and steadily opposed every salutary measure of the General Government, joined by such as this treaty obliged to pay their just debts. It is well known that it is against the southern States alone that the British merchants complain; and for this reason it is that we see the members from those States most opposed to it. All the names in the above lists, written in *italics*, are of members coming from States to the north of Virginia, from which it will appear, that only two members from the southern States voted in the minority. This circumstance is a sufficient proof of the motives of the Opposition.

Resolution by way of Protest against the President's Message.

April 26.

The House having resolved itself into a Committee of the whole on the message from the President, *Mr. Blount* (from North Carolina) moved the following resolutions, which were finally passed.

Resolved, that, it being declared by the second section of the second article of the Constitution, "that the President shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senate present concur," the House of Representatives do not claim any agency in *making treaties*; but that when a treaty stipulates regulations *on any of the subjects submitted by the Constitution to the power of Congress*, it must depend for its execution, as to such stipulations, on a law or laws to be passed by Congress; and it is the constitutional right and duty of the House of Representatives, in all such cases, to deliberate on the expediency or in expediency of carrying such treaties into effect, and to determine and act thereon, as in *their judgment* may be most conducive to the public good.

Resolved, that it is not necessary to the propriety of any application from this House to the Executive for information desired by them, and which may relate to any constitutional functions of the House, that the purposes for which such information may be wanted, or to which the same may be applied, should be stated in the application.

On the latter of these resolutions it is only necessary to observe, that it is by no means inconsistent with the motives that dictated the call for papers; those motives I have already stated, it will therefore be useless to say any thing more on the resolution.

The first resolution merits a great deal of attention, as it seems to be the lasting definition of the treaty-making power.

Patriot Madison was the only Member that entered into a defence of this resolution. To give his speech here would be to fill up my pages with what no one would read: I shall, therefore, content myself with inserting an extract from the debates in the Virginia Convention, at the time when the Consti-
tution

tution of the United States was under consideration.

The reader should be informed, that this *patriot* was, at the time of forming the Constitution, a firm friend to it ; and indeed I have seen it asserted in print, that he even drew it up. Let us, then, compare the explanation he gave of this treaty-making clause, at the time the Constitution was under consideration, with the explanation contained in the resolution which he now supports.

A Member in the Convention having objected to the treaty-making power, as expressed in the Constitution, because treaties became supreme laws of the land, *without the participation of Congress*, patriot Madison rose and said, “ *Are not treaties the law of the land in England?* I will refer you to “ a book which is in every man’s hand, Blackstone’s Commentaries. It will inform you, that “ treaties, *made by the King*, are to be the supreme “ laws of the land. *If they are to have any efficacy,* “ *they must be laws of the land.* They are so in every “ country.”

Now where has the patriot been since the time that he gave this explanation of the treaty-making power ? What sort of company must he have fallen into ? I should be very sorry to suppose that he has drunk at the fountain that poisoned his countryman Randolph ; but really, such a change of sentiment, such directly contradictory explanation of the very same clause, is hard to be accounted for.

In this debate on the call for the papers, which was, in fact, a debate on the treaty-making power, the patriot was several times called on for an explanation of his doctrine advanced in the Convention. He had the prudence to avoid an answer at that time, and to reserve himself for the discussion of the present resolution. He tells us here, that, upon *his honour*, he has *forgotten* what passed in the Conven-

tion ; but that, however *respectable* such authorities may be, the Constitution must now *explain itself*.— And so, Sir, you have *forgotten*, have you ? forgotten all about it ? The waters of Virginia, where you have undergone your political baptism, and where you have emerged a new man, are, I suppose, like those of Lethe.

But though Mr. Madison had been dipped in the pool of oblivion, some other members of the House had not ; and as they made so pressing a call on him for the explanation, he was obliged to say something. It was not certainly a very satisfactory answer, to say that, however *respectable* such authorities might be, the Constitution must now *explain itself*. As to the *respectability* of the authority, as far as relates to himself, I am ready to give that up ; but how the Constitution is to explain itself, when he has found out five different constructions of the same clause, I cannot perceive. If it be true, that he penned the Constitution, I hope he will not boast of his work, unless, indeed, which is not impossible, he wished it to answer all the convenient purposes of a Jesuit's creed.

The President, in his message, tells the House, that the treaty-making power has been thus understood by both parties in the negotiations with foreign powers. " It is thus," says he, " that the treaty-making power has been understood by foreign nations ; and in all treaties made with them, *we* have declared, and *they* have believed, that, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, they became obligatory." To this Mr. Madison replies : " By *we* was to be understood the Executive alone, and not the House of Representatives." Again he observes that " this was the first treaty made with a *foreign* power, since the operation of the present Government,

" and

“ and that therefore precedents must lose much of
“ their weight.”

What the patriot means by a *foreign* power, I know not: it is more than probable that, in his ample budget of constructions, he may have a dozen or two ready to be applied to his word *foreign*; but, according to my simple conception of the meaning of this epithet, it is applicable to every power with whom the United States have made, or can make, treaties; and of course, it ought to be applied to the Indian as well as to the European nations. The continental powers of Europe are all situated on the same land; some of them must necessarily be divided by landmarks, as we are from the Indians; yet they treat each other as *foreign* powers. If the word *foreign* is to be applied to no nation situated on the same land with ourselves, it is yet to be proved, whether it ought to be applied to France and Spain, or not. Indeed it is likely that the patriot means to confine the word *foreign* to the British nation, as the only one which is divided from us by the sea; if so, and if he should be able to persuade us that his *construction* is a good one, we may then allow that this treaty is the first which the Federal Government has formed with foreign powers; but till he can do this, I, for my part, must continue to look upon the treaties made with the Indians as made with foreign powers.

If then it be true, and true it most assuredly is, that the treaties made with the Indians bear in themselves the full force of the principle laid down by the President; that, “ when ratified by the President
“ and Senate, they become obligatory;” how happens it that no objection was ever yet made to their contents in that respect? Foreign nations have seen those treaties go quietly into effect, without waiting for the sanction of the House of Representatives; and this, of itself, was a declaration of the whole
nation,

nation, that no such sanction was necessary. But, says the patriot, "the House of Representatives never made any such declaration;" and for this very reason; because no such declaration was wanted. The President and Senate ratified the treaties, and nobody disputed their authority so to do; the unmaking power of the House was reserved to be exercised on the present occasion.

Had the House of Representatives possessed the power of setting a treaty aside, or rather, as they now contend, of giving it a final ratification, they should have come forward and declared so, when the first treaty made under the present Government was laid before them. This would have been candidly telling other powers not to look upon a treaty as finally ratified by the United States, till it had been approved of by the House; and, in the present instance, the King of Great Britain would not have been deceived into a ratification on his part, till such approbation had been obtained.

Taking leave of the tergiversation of patriot Madison, I shall add a few short remarks on the resolution itself.

One of its greatest faults is, its unnecessary length; it is however, like all the other propositions brought forward by the Opposition, calculated to deceive the multitude, and rally them under the banners of an interested, and perhaps corrupted faction, under the pretext of supporting their rights. The plain meaning of it is this: *The President and Senate have a right to make treaties, and the House of Representatives to unmake them*; and Mr. Blount, if he had had as much courage as malice, would have couched it in these very words.

"When a treaty," says the resolution, "supplantes regulations on any subject submitted by the Constitution to the power of Congress, it must depend for its execution on Congress," and consequently

sequently on the House of Representatives. Several regulations are submitted to the power of Congress: I shall confine myself to one only, as sufficient to demonstrate the consequences of the doctrine here held up. "Congress," says the Constitution, "is empowered to regulate commerce with foreign nations." Now what treaty, let me ask, can the United States make with any nation on earth, *not containing stipulations on commerce?* What treaty can be formed with Great Britain, with Spain, with the Algerines, or even with the Indians, that does not contain stipulations of this kind? There are treaties with them all now before the House, and they all do contain such stipulations. It follows, of course, that the President and Senate can make no treaty, that can be carried into execution without the consent or ratification of the House of Representatives.

Yes, there are treaties of alliance offensive or defensive, or both, which may not contain stipulations on commerce; but then, the Congress has the power to declare war: and as these are certainly warlike regulations, the House of Representatives will undoubtedly claim a participation in making them, or at least in unmaking them, according to the spirit of the resolution. So that the President and Senate's treaty-making power is, in fact, no power at all. It is a mere form of words; a deception thrown out to give foreign nations a belief of the stability and promptitude of this Government, in order to lure them into *concessions*, while the *real* power is reserved, for annulling such treaties as fall short of the exorbitant pretensions, or militate against the interested views, of these States.

If a vote of the House of Representatives be necessary to the *ratification* of a treaty (I say *ratification*, because that act alone is worthy of the name, which gives full and complete effect to a treaty); if, then,

then, a vote of this House be necessary to such ratification, it should be obtained *before* the ratification is dispatched to a foreign Court. Any other manner of proceeding is mere duplicity. What says the treaty before us? "This treaty, when the same shall have been ratified by his Majesty, and by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of their Senate, and the respective ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding and obligatory on his Majesty, and on the said States, &c." Now, this has been done; the treaty has been ratified by his Majesty and by the President, with the consent of the Senate; and yet the House of Representatives pretend, that it is *not* binding on these States, without *their* consent also. Is this duplicity, or is it something worse?

Suppose the posts, which are, in fulfilment of this treaty, to be delivered up to the United States, were situated in some part of Europe, where no intelligence of this resolution could be obtained in due time to prevent the delivery; or suppose the treaty had stipulated for the western posts being given up in the month of December last. Had either of these been the case, Great Britain would have fulfilled her engagement, in this respect, while the United States are debating with themselves *whether they shall fulfil theirs or not*. What sort of national faith is this? To make use of the words of Mr. Giles respecting the land-jobbers, this is *swindling upon a broad scale*, indeed.

This resolution, whatever may be the fate of the British treaty, will have the most pernicious effects on the relations of the United States with foreign nations. If the Ministers of any power can be supposed to understand this Constitution, it must be those of Great Britain. We see that they have understood it as giving the sole power of making
and

and ratifying treaties to the President and Senate; and it is certain that other powers have, till now, understood it in the same way. But the resolution of *patriot* Blount is well calculated to undeceive them. All nations will now say, ‘ Yes, the Americans have a President and Senate, whom they hold forth to us as officers empowered to make treaties with us, and to give such treaties their full effect, as “supreme laws of their land;” but we now perceive that this is all deception; these officers are only authorized to make and ratify *sham* treaties with us; if they obtain their wishes, they confirm these treaties afterwards; but if not, they reserve to themselves the power of setting them aside.’ In future, therefore, we must naturally expect, that no power on earth, except, perhaps, a humiliated King of Spain, or a stupid Indian Chief, will ever look upon a treaty with us as legally ratified, till it has received the sanction of the House of Representatives; nay, were I a Prince, I would not ratify, till the treaty had been signed by every individual Member of the sovereign people; for, as *patriot* Madison judiciously observed, “there is a *provident* article in the Constitution itself, by which an avenue is always left open to the *sovereign people* for *explanations or amendments*, as they may be found indispensable.”

Here I shall be told, that the British House of Commons possesses the same power, with respect to treaties, as is contended for by the House of Representatives; and yet that does not prevent other nations from treating with the King of Great Britain. If any inconsistency on the part of the Opposition could at this day excite surprise, it would be their having held up the practices of Great Britain as proper for their imitation. What! these very men, whose continual theme has been the execrating of the practices of that nation, now fly to it for precedents!

dents ! The first writer that appeared in opposition to the British treaty, represented it as dangerous, because it would "tend to the introduction of the "fashions, forms, and *precedents* of a monarchy !" *Mr. Giles* said, in the debate concerning Randall, that "he should be *sorry* to see *this House* adopt *precedents* from the British House of Commons !" Several times during this very debate, it was averred that the Constitution of Great Britain was just crumbling to pieces ; and it is no longer ago than last year, that the sagacious *patriot* Madison foretold, that he should soon see the Peers of Great Britain coming to ask a lodging from him. *Mr. Swanwick*, in the debates on the frigates, said that Great Britain was on the verge of ruin. Another of these opposers declared she was at her last gasp. And these are the men, who now tell us that imitating Great Britain is the only way of preserving the liberties of the people ; while they seize every opportunity most slanderously to represent the people of that country as slaves.

But what are these precedents which they have taken from the Constitution of Great Britain ? They tell us that the House of Commons claim a right to withhold the supplies necessary to carry a treaty into effect. They claim this right with respect to all supplies ; but, were they ever known to exercise it since the reign of the profligate frenchified Charles ? At least, were they ever known to exercise it for the purpose of violating a treaty made with a foreign power ? I defy these gentlemen to prove any such thing ; and even if they could prove it, I would be very glad to know how the precedent will apply to themselves. The British Constitution, happily for the people of that country, is not written in a book ; is not reduced to a few clauses, each of which admits of *five constructions*.
There

There is no positive law that says to the House of Commons, 'You shall have no deliberative voice on the expediency or in expediency of treaties.' This is not necessary in a Government like that of Great Britain. The organization of the House of Commons is itself a guarantee for their doing nothing that may endanger the honour or safety of the State. The electors there are few; the members are the representatives of property, and not of numbers. They are elected for seven years, and not for two. They are independent of the mob—a much better security for the State, than their being independent of those who sit at the helm of affairs. There is not, I am persuaded, a man in that House, who could, under any circumstances, bring himself to avow openly, that "he *adored* the voice of the "people," as Mr. Giles did in the debate on the call for papers. There is not the most distant resemblance between the House of Commons and the House of Representatives; and therefore the citing of precedents from the records of each other must be totally inadmissible. In one particular, however, I am willing to allow that the House of Representatives would do well in imitating the House of Commons; and here I believe I shall be seconded by every honest man in the Union; I mean in making provision for carrying the present treaty into effect.

In the Philadelphia Gazette of last year I find the following words made use of by Mr. Giles in the debate on the allowances to members of Congress: "Mr. Giles said, there was a country from which "America had *copied* a great deal *too much*. The "members of the British House of Commons received no wages, while the officers of State had "immense salaries. It was, however, *understood*, "that the British House of Commons were very
" well

" *well paid*. Mr. Giles did not wish to see *scenes* of that kind in this country."

Now, would it, I wonder, be permitted me to ask this talkative Gentleman, what he meant by "scenes?" If this were permitted, I would go on, and ask him what he meant by *copying too much* from Great Britain? If he himself be a copy of some original from that country, which I believe to be the case, in this instance I shall not contend that we have not copied too much; but as to wages to members of Congress, I think we have not copied quite enough, witness a session spun out to the month of May, and nothing done. Again, I would ask him, how he came to *understand*, that the members of the British House of Commons were very *well paid*, or, in other words, *corrupted by the King*? He knows how severely I could retort upon him here; how I could dare him to a comparison; but I forbear, and return to the sentence of this extract which so immediately applies to the subject before us.

It is well known that the members of the House of Commons receive no stipend for their services in that capacity; therefore, when the proposal before the House was to draw money out of the pockets of the people to pay Mr. Giles and his colleagues such a stipend, he thought America should not copy from Great Britain. Imitating the House of Commons in this instance, would have deprived the Gentleman of what he probably "*adored*" as much as he does "the voice of the people," and, perhaps, a great deal more. The House of Commons was therefore thrown aside as totally unworthy of imitation; but when something from the records of that House seemed to strengthen the arguments of Mr. Giles for setting aside the treaty, then it was not wrong to copy from it: it was to be imitated as the only model; as the only assembly in the world, that was the true repository of the liberties of the people.—These pal-

pable inconsistencies I leave Mr. Giles to reconcile, which I make no doubt he will be able to do, to the entire satisfaction of *his* constituents.

I shall now dismiss this resolution of Citizen Blount, with observing, that if no treaty, *containing stipulations on commerce*, is finally ratified till sanctioned by a vote of the House of Representatives, no treaty formed by the present Government is yet valid; for though that with Spain, for instance, has been sanctioned by the House, such sanction was not obtained prior to the ratification by the King of Spain. The ratification which that King now possesses is not valid, and therefore the treaty is not. This is clear and fair reasoning, and I defy even patriot Madison, with his five constructions, to oppose it with success. Is it asserted that the ratification now in the hands of the Court of Spain is binding on the United States? So, then, is the ratification now in the hands of his Britannic Majesty; for they have both emanated from exactly the same powers. If the ratification exchanged with Great Britain be not final, be not obligatory, neither is that exchanged with Spain; the Kings of both nations have been duped; they have exchanged obligatory ratifications for such as were not obligatory, and, of course, both the treaties become null and void: nor should I scruple, were I the Minister of either of those Princes, to advise an infraction of either treaty, when circumstances might render it convenient; fully confident that this resolution of the House of Representatives would justify the proceeding.

Resolution for setting aside the British Treaty.

April 14th.

Mr. HILLHOUSE (from *Connecticut*) having brought forward a resolution for passing the laws necessary to carry the treaty into effect, Mr. Maclay

spoke against it, and concluded his speech with the following preamble and resolution :

“ The House having taken into consideration the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, communicated by the President in his message of the first day of March last, are of opinion, that it is, in many respects, highly injurious to the interests of the United States ; yet, *were they possessed of any information which could justify the great sacrifices contained in the treaty*, their sincere desire to cherish harmony and amicable intercourse with all nations, and their earnest wish to co-operate in hastening to a final adjustment of the differences subsisting between the United States and Great Britain, might have induced them to wave their objections to the treaty ; but, *when they contemplate the conduct of Great Britain in persevering, since the treaty was signed, in the impressment of American seamen and the seizure of American vessels (laden with provisions), contrary to the sacred rights of neutral nations* ; whether this be viewed as the construction meant to be given to any articles in the treaty, or as contrary to and an infraction of the true meaning and spirit thereof, the House cannot but regard it as incumbent on them, in fidelity to the trust reposed in them, to forbear, under such circumstances, taking at present any active measures on the subject : therefore, *Resolved, that under the circumstances aforesaid, and with such information as the House possess, it is not expedient, at this time, to concur in passing the laws necessary for carrying the said treaty into effect.*”

REMARKS.—The preamble to this resolution holds out as an excuse for withholding the supplies, that *the House is not in possession of any information to justify the great sacrifices contained in the treaty.* What information could possibly render those sacrifices less than

than they are? How could the communication of the correspondence between the President and Mr. Jay alter the nature of sacrifices contained in the treaty itself? If an infraction of this treaty should take place on the part of Great Britain, to what should we appeal? To the treaty itself, and not to the notes and conversations employed in the negotiation. The instrument itself is good or bad, and contains in itself full proofs of either; and if the House have a right to decide on its merits, why not do it boldly? why not scorn this miserable subterfuge?

"But," says the preamble, "when they contemplate the conduct of Great Britain since the treaty was signed, &c." Now, allowing all the falsehoods which have been circulated concerning impressments and seizures, to be undeniable truths, and that they are all contrary to the rights of neutral nations, what have they to do with laws necessary to carry the treaty into effect, or how can the papers of negotiation render them more or less injurious? If they are contrary to the rights of neutral nations or to the letter of the treaty, no papers whatever can justify them; if they are not, no papers can render them unjustifiable.

One sentence in this preamble is singularly unfortunate: "*since the treaty was signed.*" Observe here well, that an objection to giving the treaty its final ratification is founded on something that Great Britain has done as an *infraction of it*. The Gentlemen have fairly tumbled into their own pit. According to the resolution of Mr. Blount, now on the journals of the House, the treaty is not a law of this land; it is not in force; it is not yet a treaty, and consequently the British can be guilty of no infraction. Do the Opposition wish that this instrument should be obligatory on Great Britain, from the moment of the signing of the ratifications as they now stand, and that it should not even yet be obligatory on these States?

States? They may, probably, find powers to treat with them on this footing; a King of scalpers, the five Kings of France (barber Tom and his comrades four), or a degenerate scion of the stump of the Bourbons, may, perhaps, do it; but the King of Great Britain never will.

After these remarks on this hypocritical and absurd preamble, I shall endeavour to point out the fatal consequences that the adoption of the resolution must be attended with, taking previously a view of the causes which have led to the present opposition. If, in doing this, I make use of an undisguised language, which, notwithstanding the boasted liberty of the press, is little customary in these States, I hope my liege lords, the sovereign citizens, will not take offence, as I declare upon my honour, that my motive, and my only motive, is, to persuade them to live in peace with the only power on earth that is capable of doing them an injury in war.

Among the causes of the opposition to the treaty, the stipulation for an honourable discharge of the debts due from the southern States (*Virginia* in particular) to the merchants of Great Britain certainly claims the first place. These debts, due before the American war, were, according to the treaty of peace, to be honourably discharged; or, at least, no law was to be passed, or to remain in force, which might operate as an impediment to their recovery. Here is the article of the treaty: "*Art. IV. It is agreed, that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted.*"

Notwithstanding this, in defiance of the General Government, and regardless of the national faith, thus solemnly pledged, the State of Virginia in particular has enacted, or kept in force, such laws as are an impediment to the recovery of these debts. In
consequence

consequence of this violation of the treaty of peace, and as a protection due from Great Britain to her merchants, she kept possession of the western posts, in order to oblige the United States to a fulfilment of their engagements. The *debtor* State or States have continued their dishonourable laws in force to this day; and for this reason it is, that to this day Great Britain keeps the forts in her possession.

When a new treaty between the two nations was to be made, the relinquishment of the posts was the first object on the part of Great Britain, and accordingly the treaty sets out with a stipulation for their being given up *on the 1st day of June 1796*, five weeks from this day. But on the other hand, the United States stipulate to pay, or cause to be paid, the above-mentioned debts, the recovery of which has been hitherto unjustly impeded, by acts which the Virginians have the impudence to dignify with the name of laws.

It was not to be supposed that Virginia would not oppose this arrangement. Both her Senators stepped forward against the treaty. One of them, Mr. Mason, divulged its contents prematurely. It was printed without the permission of the executive power; agents were dispatched with it to every part of the Union, with instructions to misrepresent its meaning, and to stir up such an opposition as might deter the President from a ratification. The following advertisement will fully show the temper of that State at the time,

“ *Richmond (Capital of Virginia).*

“ *Notice is hereby given,*

“ That in case the treaty entered into by that d—d
 “ arch traitor J—n J—y with the *British Tyrant*
 “ should be ratified, a petition will be presented to
 “ the next general Assembly of Virginia at their
 “ next session, praying that the said State may *re-*
 “ *cede from the Union*, and be left under the govern-

“ *ment*

“ ment and protection of one hundred thousand
 “ free and independent Virginians.

“ P. S. As it is the wish of the people of the said
 “ State to enter into a *treaty of amity, commerce, and*
 “ *navigation*, with any other State or States of the
 “ present Union, who are averse to returning again
 “ under the galling yoke of Great Britain, the
 “ Printers of the (*at present*) United States are re-
 “ quested to publish the above notification.”

“ *Richmond, July 30th, 1795.*

I must beg to be excused for stepping aside from my subject a minute, in order to make a few observations of a more general nature, on the conduct of this turbulent, and I may say rebellious State. One of her Representatives in Congress, Mr. Giles, said, “ that he hoped Virginia would pursue uniformly the line of conduct that had ever marked her political character. Her conduct, he observed, had been uniform from the beginning of the revolution to the present day; uniform and exemplary in her *obedience to the laws, &c.* He prided himself in representing such a State.” About a *twentieth part* of such a State the Gentleman meant, without doubt; that is, if he did not for the moment mean to give up his title of “ *immediate* Representative.”

Indeed, as Mr. Giles observed, the conduct of his State has been uniform, if a continual disaffection to the Government of the United States, sometimes concealed under the mask of hypocrisy and base crawling flattery, and sometimes breaking out in open opposition; if this be a uniform conduct, her conduct has been uniform. The reader must have remarked the words “ *British Tyrant,*” in the above advertisement, and he must also know that to abuse and vilify that Monarch is the favourite theme of Virginians. Now to give him a pretty correct idea of the uniformity of their political conduct, I shall here
 insert

insert an extract from the American Magazine for September, 1769: "We your Majesty's *most loyal, dutiful, and affectionate subjects*, of your Majesty's ancient colony of Virginia, beg leave in the *humblest manner* to assure your Majesty, that your faithful subjects of this colony, ever distinguished by their loyalty, and firm attachment to your Majesty and your royal ancestors, &c. &c. We are ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes in defence of your Majesty's *sacred person and Government*. It is with the deepest concern and most *heart-felt grief* that your Majesty's dutiful subjects of this colony find that their loyalty hath been *traded*, and that those measures which a just regard for the *British Constitution (dearer to them than life)* made necessary duties, have been misrepresented as rebellious attacks on your Majesty's Government.—After expressing our confidence in your royal *wisdom and goodness*, permit us to assure your Majesty, that the most fervent prayers of your people of this colony are *daily addressed to the Almighty*, that your Majesty's reign may be long and prosperous over Great Britain and all your dominions; and that, after death, your Majesty may taste the fullest fruition of eternal bliss, and that a descendant of your illustrious House may reign over the extended British empire *until time shall be no more*."—AMEN!

The man whose *sacred person* they were ready to sacrifice life and fortune in defence of, is now called the "*British Tyrant*;" and "*the British Constitution, dearer to them than life*," is now "*the galling yoke of Great Britain!*" Poor bankrupt devils! the King of Great Britain stands in no need of their lives and fortunes, nor of their prayers daily addressed to the Almighty. Neither do their curses affect him a bit more than those of the French atheists. I dare say, if the truth were known, that he does not think

half so much about the "ancient and dutiful and "loyal and pious State of Virginia" as he does about the kennel of his flag-hounds.

Another trait of the uniformity of conduct in this State is exhibited in her behaviour to the President of the United States. After his election, he received the first address from the Virginians. I can say nothing better nor worse of this address, than that it was full as dutiful, affectionate, and *sincere*, as the address to the King. Let any man compare that address with the insults that this insolent State, and her members in Congress, have heaped on the President during the last nine months, and then doubt of the uniformity of the conduct of Virginia if he can.

But Mr. Giles says, "Virginia has been uniform "and exemplary in her *obedience to the laws*." I shall mention but two instances of this. The first is, her having absolutely disobeyed the treaty of peace, by making, or keeping in force, acts which have hitherto prevented the fulfilment of that treaty, and which had nearly plunged the Union into a war. The second instance is, her having attempted, during this very session of Congress, to raise up an opposition to the Government in every State in the Union, and even to destroy the Constitution. If these instances of her "*obedience to the laws*" were not sufficient, one might add her instructions to all her Representatives to oppose the execution of the British treaty, "a supreme law of the land." Such are the proofs which Mr. Giles might have cited of her "uniform and *exemplary* obedience to the laws."

Mr. Giles may "pride himself in being a Representative from such a State;" but I believe that few men who do not *adore* "the voice of the "people," will envy him his post.

Who did not expect that every member from this State would do his utmost to set the treaty aside? The final determination of the House of Representatives

atives is not yet known; but I do not scruple to declare all those enemies of the treaty, who voted in favour of Mr. Blount's resolution; and it is well known that every member from Virginia is included in that number. Had the treaty been opposed from any other motive than the one I contend for, surely out of eighteen members, some one would have been found not included in the Opposition.

If there are any particular members among those now leagued against the Constitution, who claim the guilty pre-eminence, it must be those who are actuated by this selfish, this disgraceful motive. It is a truth, and a truth that will be a lasting stigma on the American character, that if this treaty be rendered null, it will be for no other reason than *because it engages for a discharge of just debts*, on the part of Americans.

I am far from wishing to insinuate, that there are no honourable exceptions to be found among the people of Virginia; a recent attempt in their legislature to subject lands to seizure for the payment of debts, is a full proof that such exceptions do exist: but in speaking of a State, we must speak of it as one; our opinions must be founded on the measures it adopts, whether such measures may be the effect of the unanimous voice of the people, or not. In like manner foreign nations must judge of the United States. If they fail in the fulfilment of their engagements, if the swindling propositions for annulling the treaty should finally succeed, foreign nations will pronounce on the measure itself, without paying any attention to our internal disputes and divisions. The minority will be lumped with the majority; the everlasting stain will imprint itself on the whole American people, not excepting the hitherto spotless character of a Washington.

French influence is another source of opposition to the treaty. Those who have read Mr. Randolph's Vindication,

Vindication, as it was ironically called, have seen how narrowly the President escaped from the plots of that Gentleman; what overtures were made to the French Minister for "some thousands of dollars." They will see how that "pretended patriot" laboured to protract the ratification; how well his plans were laid for embroiling this country with Great Britain, and how all his measures were taken for subjecting the Government of this country to France. I do not say that any of the members who now oppose the Government and the treaty, are absolutely in the pay of the five Kings; but after reviewing the infidious conduct of the Secretary of State, after having duly considered the rank of the persons on whose behalf, as well as his own, certain overtures were made; after having seen some of the men now in Congress, particularly *an inconsistent leader*, named as a confidential friend of *Citizen Fauchet*, I must be excused if I have my doubts. Doubts I shall have till I see those who now oppose the treaty, cease their eulogiums, their fulsome and nauseous eulogiums of a people, who, in their present state, are not entitled even to pity.

What influence the French have had among the multitude will appear from two circumstances (I could mention a thousand) fresh in every one's mind. At the town-meeting at New-York, called to condemn the treaty, the people marched under the banners of France and America. These flags were carried at the head of the vile and insolent procession that proceeded to the Governor's house, and there burnt the treaty. The other fact is of still more recent date, and still more striking. The petition, said to be signed by fifteen hundred *citizens* of Philadelphia, against the treaty, and now before the House, was carried round for signature by a *Frenchman*. The *chairman* of the meeting was also a *Frenchman*; nor am I sure that it was not originally

ginally drawn up in the *French language*. I wonder what the people of England, or, indeed, of any independent nation, would say to a foreigner, who should carry round for their signature a petition against the execution of a "law of the land;" a solemn contract entered into between them and another nation? There is a certain point of debasement, below which no nation can sink: whether this be that point, or not, I will not at present take upon me to say: God only knows what he has yet in reserve for us.

I am aware, it will be said here, that, though the chairman, under whose authority and direction this petition was drawn up, was a *Frenchman*, yet it was presented to the House by an *Englishman*, or, to speak more correctly, an *homuncio*, born in England. But let it be recollected that this *homuncio* has, since the beginning of the present war, been a most desperate supporter of the cause of the French; that he trades to France, and to France principally, and that the whole of his political career justifies the name of *English Jacobin*.

The reader, from what has been said of this diminutive mortal, will at once perceive that I am speaking of Mr. *Swanwick*, one of the august Representatives of the city of Philadelphia. I have been told that this gentleman has taken upon him to pronounce me a hired *English scribbler*. I will not tell this *omicciuolo* (for the *Italian* diminutive suits him best on every account) what I am; but I will tell him what I am not. I am not descended from the dregs of the King of Great Britain's Custom-house; I was never fed from the scraps of his Majesty's bounty, collected by an honest spy, called a *Tide-waiter*. I never snapped at the hand that gave me bread, and nourished the streams from which I drew my life. I am the base and cringing flatterer of no man, much less of the men I despise. I never wrote to England

an enumeration of my *titles*, outnumbering those of a Spanish Hidalgo, and concluding with, "the President of the Emigration Society, Treasurer of the "Dancing Assembly, and Trustee of the Young "Ladies School." At the age of *thirty-eight*, in the prime of life, I never decorated my bed-chamber with lascivious pictures, *Leda and her Swan*, and such-like stimuluses. One who is obliged to have recourse to these miserable shifts is unworthy even of the name *omicciuolo*.

After having thus candidly given an account of myself, let me ask you, *Mr. Swanwick*, a question or two. How came you to imagine yourself blessed with the *aura divina*? How came you to imagine that the *Muses*, who are of the female sex, had ever cast a favourable eye on you? Besides, if you must commit your miserable doggrel to paper, why send it to England for impression? Why take such incredible pains to ensure its appearance in an English Magazine? Why did you not send it to your new country France? Can it be possible that you yet wish to shine among the countrymen of your ancestors? I will wear the shine off you, as sure as you and I live. As to the piece I here allude to, I have not room at present to lay it before my readers; but I will just ask, how you came to discover that *earth* is to become the *prototype of heaven*—

"So shall the year to harmony be given,

"And earth be found the *prototype of heaven*."

Let the year be *given to harmony* as much as you please, set all your vestals to chanting, and rock us to sleep with your own *canzones*, yet I presume it will never be found that earth is the *prototype of heaven*; the *prototype* of something that existed *before it*, and which it is to *resemble*. As soon as there is a vacancy in your young Ladies academy, I advise you to fill it yourself, and to let poetry and politics alone.

It is just matter of surprize that this Gentleman should be elected the Representative of such a city as Philadelphia. The arts by which his election was brought about I reserve as the subject of an article in a future Censor. I have heard of a sturdy young Lord in England, who got himself elected through the interest of the wives and daughters of his constituents; Mr. Swanwick will never be suspected of *this kind of corruption*; but whether he ought to be suspected of no other kind, is more than I will pretend to determine. Grog is cheap, and its influence is mighty.

After this long and rambling digression, I return to the subject of French influence; and I am persuaded that the reader must agree with me, that, after the Virginia debts, it has been the principal cause of opposition to the British treaty.

However, it must be confessed that these causes, powerful as they have been, would have produced but a partial effect, had they not been aided by the delusion of the great body of the people with respect to the situation of Great Britain. The rancour they entertained against that nation laid them open to the falsehoods which the friends of France, among whom we may reckon nearly all the news-printers, so industriously spread through the country. A hundred times Great Britain has been represented as on the brink of ruin. The Editor of the Philadelphia Gazette opened the new year, 1795, with congratulating his customers on the stability and vigour of the Federal Government, while that of Great Britain was just crumbling to pieces. In the same paper, he called the island of Britain "*an insular Bastile*."—When intelligence was received of the progress the French were making in Holland, the papers announced it as an event that must necessarily be the immediate cause of the total overthrow of the British nation. "The taking of Amsterdam," said the papers,

pers, "is the last blow to the power of Britain." Bets were laid that Great Britain would become an appendage of the French Republic; and more than once were we informed by the public papers, that the tri-coloured flag was flying on St. James's palace.

Gross as these impositions were, they were greedily swallowed by the people, nine tenths of whom believed every assertion of the kind that was made. Men are apt to believe what they wish; it is hard to convince them, that those whom they hate are objects of envy and respect. Such was the general opinion of the distresses and weakness of Great Britain, and such the persuasion that her situation would oblige her to yield to any thing that Mr. Jay should dictate, that when intelligence was received of the conclusion of the treaty, *Pichegru* was toasted as the *negotiator*.

A circumstance like this, though despicable in itself, proves that an opinion was entertained that his Britannic Majesty had been *forced* by the successes of the French, to accept of such terms as Mr. Jay chose to offer; and, of course, a treaty was expected, at once humiliating to Great Britain, and honourable as well as advantageous to the United States. Nothing equal to these lofty expectations was to be found in the treaty. It was a disappointment; and disappointment ever disposes men to discontent. In vain were the people told that they had been deceived with respect to the state of Great Britain: in vain was it hinted to them, that she would finally be successful in the war: their hatred and the continued chain of falsehood running through the public papers, had rendered them deaf to the voice of reason and of truth. The southern debtors and French emissaries took advantage of this prevalent delusion, and the opposition became almost universal.

There were not wanting men of talents to add
fuel

fuel to the flame ; nor were there wanting others, actuated by a sincere love of their country, who endeavoured to counteract such baleful efforts. It is certainly owing to the writings of these Gentlemen, that the people have latterly begun to form a right judgment of this important treaty, and to rally round that Government on which their very existence as an independent nation depends. The Judges too, in the middle and northern States, have exerted a laudable zeal ; some of the public papers have stood forth in the cause of order and truth ; and there is not the least doubt that the treaty would have met with no opposition in the House of Representatives, had not the members been chosen while the public mind was at the height of its fermentation. This was unfortunately the case ; *treaty* and *no treaty*, were the signals at the elections ; and as the opposers were the most numerous, so are the members of the Opposition.

Thus is this opposition bottomed on *dishonesty*, *corruption*, or *ignorance*, and probably on all three together. That it may be frustrated, is my sincere wish ; and that it will, I have not the least doubt. I cannot bring myself to imagine that the people of this country will tamely suffer themselves to be hurled from the pinnacle of national prosperity, into the horrid abyss of foreign and civil war, of anarchy, requisitions, and massacre, by a band of interested and desperate leaders, who have nothing to lose but the posts which their too credulous constituents have bestowed on them. I have not the least doubt that the nefarious conspiracy will be finally rendered abortive, and that the French gold, now in circulation, will be as ineffectual as that formerly distributed among the “ pretended patriots of America ;” but while there is a possibility of the contrary, the attention of the people ought to be directed to the dangers that await them.

I shall

I shall point out these dangers as they present themselves to me : if the reader should think them imaginary, he may do well to treat them like other efforts of imagination ; but if he has the least reason to think them real, it is certainly his duty to endeavour to avert them by every exertion in his power.

The first thing that presents itself among the consequences of annulling the treaty is, the detention of the western posts by the British. The not possessing of these posts has latterly cost the people of this country about a million of dollars annually, besides the loss of lives, besides defeats and continual discontents. The possession of them must then be a desirable object. But, say the enemies of the treaty, they ought to have been given up long ago, unconditionally. I have proved the contrary, and I could repeat my proofs, but this is now totally out of the question : we know they were not given up, that they are not yet given up, and we may be assured that they will not be given up, unless the present treaty is carried into effect.

But it is said that the British are bound by the treaty to give up the posts on the first of June, and that they ought to fulfil this part of their engagements without paying any attention to what is doing in Congress ; that they have no business with our internal disputes, the treaty being the only rule for their conduct ; and, with this doctrine in hand, it is supposed that some members of the House of Representatives mean to delay their decision on the subject till after the first of June ; and if the posts are not evacuated at that time, to accuse the British of annulling the treaty. To this I answer, that I am fully persuaded that the Governor of Canada will retain the posts, till the treaty has been sanctioned by an appropriation law ; and that I am fully convinced he would be justified in so doing. This
nation

nation formed a certain Constitution, or manner of government, which they promulgated to the world; in this Constitution it is said, that treaties, made and ratified by the President and Senate, *shall be supreme laws of the land*. Persuaded that the nation would abide by this its solemn declaration, several powers made treaties with the President and Senate, and among others, Great Britain; but before the time for fulfilling a certain stipulation in the treaty with Great Britain is arrived, it becomes matter of doubt, whether this treaty be valid or not; or rather, one branch of the American Government declares it invalid, by a resolution entered on its journals. Under such circumstances, will common reason or common sense deny, that the British would be justifiable in refusing to fulfil their part of the stipulations?

I have said, that Mr. Blount's resolution declares the treaty *invalid*. The word *invalid* is not made use of, but we shall soon see that the resolution goes to the full length. The House, by adopting it, have formally and explicitly declared, that a treaty including commercial regulations, is not binding on the United States, till sanctioned by the House of Representatives. The present treaty includes commercial regulations, and therefore is *not binding on the United States*. The House have also declared in this resolution, that treaties including commercial regulations require the sanction of the House of Representatives before they can be effectual; or, in other words, that the ratification of the President and Senate is *not sufficient to give such treaties their full and entire effect*. The present treaty was, then, concluded and ratified by persons not fully empowered so to do.

Now, the first principles, touching treaties, are; that, to be *valid*, the parties must have full power to conclude, ratify, and carry into effect; and that

wonder where the stupid porter was, that this ill-looking fellow got up stairs.

Mr. Gallatin (resisting). But, me Lort, hear me von vort. Though I vas porn Citizen Genevese, I am now Citizen American*; ant I am tended to you's King py me Sovereigns, to make a treaty vit him. Here, me Lort, are me credentials (pulling out papers).

Lord Grenville. But, Sir, previous to examining your papers, may I beg to be informed, how it comes to pass, that the Americans should choose for the Representative of their nation, or for a *Representative of any kind*, a foreigner, and a foreigner too whose looks are not calculated to produce a prepossession in his favour?

Mr. Gallatin. Bella di fuori, e dentro ha la magagna.

Lord Grenville. A proverb ill applied, Sir; for I believe that your inside is as bad as your outside. I do not believe that that insurrection face of yours belies your heart.

Mr. Gallatin. Insurrection! me Lort! vy it is de very first article in de *Rights of Man*. I have made von insurrection in de mountains of Pennsylvane, dat is vy I am Representative.

Lord Grenville. Upon my word it is a curious qualification. But let me caution you, Sir, unless you have a mind to take a trip to Botany Bay, not to

* *Mr. Gallatin* has, I am told, founded a new town in the Whisky country, which he has named *New Geneva*. A fellow transported, some years ago, to a certain State not far from the *Potomac*, christened his cabin, *New Newgate*. It was, I presume, in imitation of this worthy *emigrant*, that our Italian gave the name of his little native *municipal jail* to an American town. I would advise him to suffer none but imported Savoyards (in French synonymous with *chimney-sweeps*) to settle in it; and, then, as the saying is, he will have a little hell of his own.

attempt to exercise this article of your declaration of rights in this country. Your papers, Sir, if you please.

Mr. Gallatin. Dere de are, me Lort, in de veritable revolutionary style.

Lord Grenville (reading).—" produced great disputes and divisions—has been declared invalid—will not grant the sums—into effect—changed the Constitution—hopes that the magnanimity of his Majesty—wish to preserve peace and good understanding."

Mr. Gallatin. Yes, me Lort, vee wishes to lif in de peas and goot understanding.

Lord Grenville. And so, Sir, you have changed your Constitution, and this is to render the treaty invalid on your part, but not on ours. What sort of work is this?

Mr. Gallatin. Vee Citizens call dis "political sin," me Lort.

Lord Grenville. It is a sin, I believe, my friend, you will have to expiate yourselves. Our august Monarch will, undoubtedly, thank you for the high opinion you entertain of his magnanimity; but I am afraid you deceive yourselves, if you imagine he will live in peace and good understanding with you upon your terms. As to a new treaty, we can make none with you; for, as a change in your Constitution has rendered one invalid, another change may render another invalid; and so, Sir, I heartily wish you a safe return over the Atlantic.

Mr. Gallatin. But, me Lort, hear me von oder vort.

Lord Grenville. Not one, upon my honour; I have heard you too long already. Besides, we are busy here settling the affairs of your friends the French. After that's done you may hear from us.—Tom, conduct the Citizen into the street.

Lord Grenville (solus). Can it be possible that the Americans

Americans are so poor in talents, so debased in principle, as to intrust their public affairs to an European adventurer, the leader of an insurrection ? Can these people be so degenerated ? I blush to think them the offspring of Britons. Blessed for ever be the laws of Old England, that exclude all foreigners from public offices. These wretches are now tearing the Government of America to pieces, as the subtle and intriguing *Necker* did that of France. They join themselves to the restless rabble of every country, flatter their passions and prejudices, make war upon the rich, divide the spoil, and then retire to their own country to devour it.

I do not pretend to say, that the interview would be conducted exactly thus ; but I am certain as to its result. I am certain that every offer to treat would be rejected with disdain. War then must be resorted to ; not that war is the necessary consequence of the violation of a treaty ; but with the accumulated load of griefs and insults on both sides, and the irreconcilable hatred existing in this country against Great Britain, it is morally impossible to preserve peace.

The President and Senate are opposed to war ; they know well its consequences to this country ; but who can tell what the President of next year may be ? Can any man possibly hope, that General Washington will suffer himself to be degraded by remaining the pageant, the mere tool of a faithless and profligate faction ? The reputation he has gained it is not in the power of hell to wrest from him ; hitherto he has been suffered to keep in the path of honour ; but one single step in the direction he is now required to tread, and his renown is blasted for ever. No ; if this treaty does not go into effect, it cannot be expected, it cannot be hoped, that he will again accept the post of President. Nor will any other man accept of it, who is attached to the
present

present Constitution. Some more pliant mortal must then be found; some prostituted friend of France, ready to sacrifice the interests of this country to the wild and bloody principles of the Convention. With such a President, and with such a majority in the House of Representatives, war with Britain would be inevitable.

War is at all times and to all countries dreadful in its effects, but to no country and at no time was it ever so dreadful as it would now be to America. This is not a warlike nation, nor has this nation a warlike Government. In a war with any nation whatever, this country can gain nothing, and in a war with Great Britain it has every thing to lose.

When assertions like these are advanced, the advocates for war turn, with imaginary triumph, to the result of the last war. They tell us, that America was victorious, and that the country is now much more populous and rich than it was then.

In the first place, what did this country *gain* by the last war? If *independence* was a *gain* (for at *present* that is very problematical), it was the only gain. I shall not dwell on the *losses*. Those who have had their houses burnt about their ears; those who have been pillaged, plundered, robbed of their property; those who are now starving with bundles of continental money under their roofs; those who have lost their children or their parents, do not need to be reminded of the losses of that war. If *independence* was the *only gain* of last war, what is to be the gain of another? The *warriors* do not pretend that we could go and take Great Britain; they do not pretend that we could take Jamaica; they do not pretend even that we could take Bermuda. What then can we take? Why—*Canada*. This is the burden of their song, or rather *war-whoop*. With this they divert the rabble, and sharpen their fangs for war and conquest. If you ask them *how* they would do this,

this, they tell you that *men* are not wanting; that *four hundred thousand* would turn out volunteers against Great Britain. I believe twice that number would turn out for a field-day, with sticks and staves, and return very peaceably home to supper; but would they do this two days running? If I am to judge from experience, from the infinite difficulty the Government had to assemble so trifling a force as fifteen thousand men on a recent occasion, I should reduce this army of four hundred thousand men to three or four battalions. I shall be told that the sentiments of the people concerning the *excise* were divided; and are they unanimous concerning the treaty? I will however suppose the people to have but one sentiment; I will suppose *one* hundred thousand men ready to submit themselves to all the rigour of military discipline, and all the hardships inseparable from actual service; I will suppose them all heroes, ready to "seek the bubble reputation in the cannon's mouth;" and I will suppose a Washington at their head. Yet these heroes must eat, and must have some kind of covering too; and this will cost money. In short, I have made a little calculation of the expense of *fifty* thousand men, *ten* armed vessels, *ten* galleys, with all the necessary officers, horses, waggons, cannon, &c. &c. &c. and I find the amount to be above *twenty millions of dollars* annually, a sum three times as great as the *present* revenue of the United States. Can any sober man look at this, and imagine this country fit to engage in a war? There is not money in the treasury sufficient to carry on the war one month. As to loans, where are they to be obtained? In France or in Holland? The very mention of those countries, on such a subject, excites laughter. Domestic loans! who will lend a sixpence? Taxes! there will be nothing but houses and land to tax. Commerce will be no more. The enemy will let nothing out of
our

our ports, or into them. In a word, it is absolutely impossible for this country to equip any thing like a creditable force, without having recourse to a *paper currency and requisitions*. I care not who differs from me in opinion; this opinion I give as my own, and, if war is declared, I shall see it verified.

As *doing injury to Great Britain* is the strongest stimulus to war in this country, I shall now take a view of the extent of that injury in the present instance. As to the taking of Canada, I do not believe it probable. There are men in that country as well as in this; and they are better men, too, if we believe those debased wretches, who tell us, that one Frenchman is worth three of their own ancestors. At any rate they are men, they are at home, they have eight or nine regular regiments, and a train of artillery, such as this country will not have in fifty years to come, engineers and other experienced officers. When the *warriors* talk about taking Canada, they forget that there is any body to defend it. To be sure, the poor devils are *subjects*; but as they might get together twice the number of the *citizens* marched against them, there is a possibility at least that they might lay some few of the latter dead upon the field.

By sea, a war with this country would not add a dollar to the expenses of Great Britain. She is already armed, and can very well spare a stout squadron for this coast. How this squadron *might be employed* I shall not point out; suffice it to say, that, if *doing injury* should be the object of the British Court, more could be done to us in one week, than we could do to Great Britain in ten years.

But we should starve their islands: no such thing. He who is master of the sea, may call himself the master of the land. Those who have produce to sell,

sell, will sell it, in spite of decrees and ordinances. The British would obtain all they wanted, just as they do now, with this advantage, that they would prevent their enemies from doing the same. The more I contemplate this subject, the more I am convinced that a war with America would be favourable to the cause in which Great Britain is at present engaged.

Another reason for going to war is, we should *injure* (always *injure*) the manufacturers in Great Britain ; to which I beg may be added, we should leave ourselves naked. This latter may be a desirable object with the *sans-culottes*, though I should hardly imagine that Mr. *Swanwick* would much approve of it. People vainly suppose that the very existence of Great Britain depends on her commerce with this country : experience might have taught us the contrary : she can do without our trade for a dozen years at a time. Nor would such a contraction of her commerce at the present time, and *in the present case*, cause any discontent in that country.—Our behaviour would unite the nation, and the Englishman that would not patiently bear a temporary inconvenience or distress, that would not even spend his last shilling, to enable his King to revenge such an abominable trait of perfidy as the annulling of this treaty, ought to be stripped to his skin, nay of his skin into the bargain. The fact is, that, besides wanting the aid of France, this country would also want the aid of the English in this war ; and this would be one of the great differences between this war and the last. Last war, addresses to the people of England did much : some of those who came to fight for the King, took very good care to fight against him : soldiers and sailors came to desert to their *brothers*, who were combatting in a cause, which was pretty generally looked upon as

the cause of Britons. Things are now changed. *Doctor Franklin*, were he to rise from the dead, would not now be heard at the bar of the House of Lords. No English Lord, *after the fate of Lord Chatham's statue* at Charleston, will ever take upon him the cause of this country; unless indeed it be Earl Stanhope, who *wishes to be hanged* *. *Doctor Priestley* we have the happiness to have among us, and therefore he can do his country no more harm. No: if we are to have war, let us come forward boldly like republicans, and tell the British we abhor and detest them. No wheedling, no coaxing. Let those who have burnt that nation's flag, and called for all the thunderbolts in the stores of Heaven to be hurled on them, expect from them all the mischief they can possibly do.

I know that such language as this is unusual in this country. It would be much more pleasing to dwell on the power of the United States and the decrepit state of Great Britain; but I am no candidate for popular favour or applause. I delight in speaking hard truths; and besides, this is not the time for jesting or flattery.

I have hitherto proceeded upon the supposition that the people of this country would be all united in the cause of the war. But how far would this be from the case! Almost all the rich, almost all the people of property, would be opposed to it. There is another and still more dangerous kind of division, which would finally end in a dissolution of the Union: I mean the division of the North from the South. The enemies of peace, in the House of Representatives, are, with two honourable exceptions, to be found almost solely in the southern States. Can

* Such was really the fate of Lord Chatham's statue at Charleston, in the spring of 1794. Mr. *William Pitt's* effigy was burnt in the same town, and on the same day.

it be imagined, that the honest and industrious people of the North will suffer themselves to be dragged down to perdition, merely to satisfy the unprincipled vengeance of a nest of fraudulent debtors? Can it be imagined, that the New-Englanders will tamely suffer the *lords* of Virginia to sport with their prosperity and happiness, as they do with their batrels of rice and tobacco at a cock-match? Common sense forbids us to believe any such thing.

I have supposed also, that the Government would retain its present form; but can this possibly be so? No; the moment a war should be declared, in consequence of the rejection of the treaty, the Constitution would be thrown aside as useless lumber. A revolutionary state must succeed. Then our Brissots and our Robespierres would mount the throne: we have them ready at hand, and a war is all that is wanting to bring them forth. We should have our *aristocrats*; indeed, they are already pointed out: the erection of a guillotine is all that remains for the *patriots* to do, preparatory to their execution. In short, do we envy the French their situation, or do we not? Do we wish to experience those sufferings, at the recital of which we now weep? Do we wish to witness all those cruelties, those frightful horrors that freeze the blood and make us ashamed of our species? If we do, a war, at the present moment, will infallibly bring us the object of our wishes, and we shall do well to second the endeavours of the Livingstons, and Madisons, and the Gallatins.

I am persuaded, that the following letter, from my *Cousin Hedgehog* at New-York, will not be unacceptable to my readers.

New-York, 21st April, 1796.

DEAR COUSIN,

I have long been a constant reader of your useful works, and, as belonging to a branch of your family,
I have

I have taken to myself some part of the honour which their boldness and evident object reflect on the author; but, as my branch is a younger, or subaltern one, and as I have not had the folly to adopt the levelling principles of the *sans-culottes* of the present day, I have not till now presumed to intrude on your time, nor should I have done it at all, had not the democratic tricks in this city seemed to call aloud for publicity.

Without further apology, then, I take the liberty to inform you, that yesterday an assembly was held in the Bridewell Fields (they were, you see, on their own dunghill) to re-damn the treaty; or, in other words, to decide on a *petition* to order the House of Representatives not to pass the laws necessary for carrying it into effect. As all the merchants, and other inhabitants of credit and consequence, had before signed a petition to a contrary effect, you will easily suppose of whom this Bridewell meeting was composed. The hour was twelve o'clock, when *labourers* of every description were at leisure to attend. P. R. Liv—ton and M. Liv—ton (*worthy* relations of our *nominal* Representative) were the leading orators. After these came their coadjutor, Francis Van D—ke, a chocolate-grinder, known only for his stupid head, his rancorous heart, his sour phiz, and the ridiculous bustle he made about the *tri-coloured flag*, that some wag had the liberticide impudence to tear down from the place where it was hoisted in our Coffee-house. This man was *chairman* of the meeting. The next orator was Serj—t Cl—ke, so confessedly in the pay in France, that he once actually sued G—net for not paying his *secret services* according to stipulated agreement. This “pretended patriot,” previous to the meeting, advertised for the purpose of purchasing “several thousand of hoop-poles, to be used as *junkets*” (*alias* bludgeons) on the day of parade.”

The

The complexion of the meeting was such, that it is said even the Liv—tons *blushed* at it. This, however, nobody that knows the thickness of their skin will believe. A petition was drawn up ; but, as the assistants could not be supposed capable of signing their names, and as in making their marks they must have rendered the paper as sooty as their own paws, a Committee was appointed to sign for them, though the paws of this Committee are certainly not much *cleaner* than those of the assembly in general.

What effect such a petition as this may have I know not : the sapient heads of the Opposition seem to be turned ; but they may rest assured, that, if they have *sold* us to France, the bargain will not stand. They object to our treaty with Britain, because contracted without their consent, and we shall object to their treaty with France, because contracted without our consent. This is fighting them at their own weapons.

I must now call your attention to another event. On the 12th instant, one *Kettlatas*, whose offence was that of *vilifying the assembly of the State*, was set at liberty, and drawn in triumph through the streets, seated in an old ragged phaeton, by the guards of the city ; I mean the black-guards. On this joyful occasion there was a sort of civic festival. The French *hulks*, now lying in our harbour (where they have lain for nine months past, and where they will lie while there is an English armed ship at sea), decorated themselves in all their fans-culotte paraphernalia, usually exhibited at the triumph of savage anarchy over order and law.

Thus you see the close connexion that every where exists between the French and the brutal enemies of our Government. These are insults that no Government ever before put up with ; in-
sults,

APRIL, 1796.

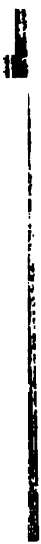
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sults, I trust, we shall not long suffer with impunity.

I am, &c.

J. HEDGEHOG.

P. S. Unfortunately, your intelligence, in the last *Censor*, concerning our malicious Argus (as far as relates to his decease), was not well founded. A *French* surgeon sewed up his neck, and the wretch is now dropping about his *aqua fortis* with as much malice as ever. Would not your quills and his eyes meet very lovingly together? My prickles are not long enough.



POLITICAL CENSOR.

No. IV,

Proceedings in the House of Representatives.

WHEN the last Cenfor went to the press, the long-contested and important question on the treaty with Great Britain was still undecided. Go! said I, gentle Cenfor, and in thy mild and conciliating accents, beseech the desperate demagogues to spare us a little longer.

A sort of cloud had interposed between the people and the sun of prosperity. Terror had seized on all those who had something to lose; they knew not whether it was prudent to buy or to sell; whether their ships were safest in the harbour or out at sea; the sans-culottes began to grind their teeth and whet their couteaux, while the heads of the aristocrats seemed to totter on their shoulders, and hang as it were by a bit of skin.

In this situation were we, when, on the 29th of April, the question was taken in a Committee of the whole House. The *Ayes* were 49—and the *Noes* 49: the Chairman, Mr. Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania, gave the casting vote in the affirmative.

Thus was the fate of a nation suspended upon the voice of one man, and thus have we once more narrowly escaped war and anarchy.

Some benignant sylph certainly whispered Mr. Muhlenberg in the ear; for it is well known that he had been a declared enemy to the treaty from the first

first moment of its appearance. He was one of the leaders at the town meeting held at Philadelphia, on the 25th of July, 1795. At this meeting "the d—ned treaty was kicked to hell," and the Assembly adjourned to go and break Mr. Bingham's windows. This meeting appointed a Committee to draw up a Memorial, praying the President not to ratify the treaty. The Memorial, after reprobating every article of the treaty singly, concludes thus: "Your Committee apprehend that great evils would result to these States from this treaty, if ratified; they therefore recommend that an address be prepared, and presented to the President of the United States, praying that he will not ratify the said treaty." Now, Mr. Muhlenberg was one of the very Committee who drew up this Memorial. Nor did his opposition cease here, for we find him voting for the papers, and for the protesting resolution of Mr. Blount. Had he not voted for this latter resolution, I could have admitted that he gave his casting vote from a persuasion that the House had no right to set the treaty aside; but in voting for the resolution of Mr. Blount, he insists on this right, and therefore the casting vote remains to be accounted for. Idle stories go about: slander is ever on the wing: for my part, I am not one of those who will give credit to nothing that they cannot see through; but I leave a mystery as I find it. This miraculous conversion is certainly to be attributed to the interposition of some *invisible* power; to that power let us return our thanks, and not to Mr. Muhlenberg.

But though the resolution for carrying the treaty into effect had passed in the Committee, it had yet to get through the House, and much apprehension was entertained for its safety on the passage. The Opposition was determined to dispute the ground to the last inch; accordingly, when the resolution was taken up in the House, on the 30th, Mr. Dearborn moved

moved the following preamble to it ; " That although
 " in the opinion of this House the treaty is *highly*
 " *objectionable*, and *may prove injurious to the United*
 " *States*, yet, considering all the circumstances re-
 " lating thereto, particularly that the last 18 articles
 " are to continue in force only during the present
 " war, and two years thereafter, and confiding also
 " in the efficacy of measures which may be taken for
 " bringing about a discontinuance of the violations
 " committed on our neutral rights, in regard to our
 " vessels and seamen, therefore ;" &c.

This was the last shift of a baffled faction. ' If
 ' you do carry the treaty,' said they, ' your resolu-
 ' tion shall contain the proofs of your own folly and
 ' inconsistency.' The plan was well laid : it was
 expected that some of the members who had voted
 for the resolution the day before, would also vote for
 the preamble ; nor was this improbable ; any incon-
 sistency might be expected from some of them.

Mr. Muhlenberg, as if afraid of being outstrip-
 ped by Mr. Christie and some others, hastened to
 give the preamble his entire approbation, and did at
 last actually vote for it. Thus we see this Gentle-
 man first opposing the treaty at a town meeting, and
 drawing up a Memorial beseeching the President not
 to ratify it ; then we find him voting for a resolution
 that declares the House to have a right to set the
 treaty aside ; but when called on for his casting voice,
 he seems to have forgotten all about the evil tend-
 ency of the treaty and the unmaking power of the
 House. Sleep, however, seems to have refreshed
 his memory, and we find him next day voting for a
 preamble that declares this treaty " *highly objectionable*,
 " *and that it may prove injurious to the United States* ;"
 but in less than ten minutes afterwards, he falls back
 into his old state of torpidity, and really votes for
 this very " highly objectionable and injurious treaty,"
 without any modification or preamble at all. What

an excellent political weathercock ! He tacks with ten times the celerity of the Indian on the top of his sugar-house.

When the preamble was put, there appeared according to the counting, or rather miscounting, of the "*Calm Observer*," *Ayes* 49 and *Noes* 49 ; consequently the Speaker, Mr. Dayton, was called on for the casting vote, and he gave it in the negative.

Thus another casting vote preserved the honour of the House, as a former one had done that of the nation. But it must be remarked here, that when the names of the members came to be printed, it appeared 50 had voted in the negative ; so that there was a majority against the inconsistent preamble, even without the casting vote of the Speaker.

Mr. Jekyll, in his account of the *Habeas Corpus* act (Woodfall's Reports for 1794, vol. iv. p. 12), says, " This act was first obtained by something like " a miracle. In one stage it was carried in the upper House by a sort of *pious fraud* : one of the tellers seeing a very *fat* Lord coming in, and " knowing him to be a man of *weight*, counted him " for *ten*." I should have thought that, for like reasons, Mr. Muhlenberg had been counted for *two*, had not the error been by subtraction in place of addition. Whether the *fraud* would have been quite so *pious* on this occasion, as in obtaining the act of *Habeas Corpus*, is another thing : yes, Mr. Beckley, that's another thing.

How the Clerk of the House came to miscount, or how his miscounting came to pass unproved when discovered, are questions well worth asking. Such mistakes are not common, nor is it likely that an extraordinary degree of inattentiveness would prevail at such an important moment. I do not pretend to dictate to members of Congress ; but were I one, I would exert my utmost to displace a Clerk who would dare to mistake a vote of the House, though
that

that Clerk should be the very image of *Lord Chalkstone* himself.

Finally, the resolution of Mr. Hillhouse was put, in its original form: "Resolved, that the necessary laws be passed for carrying into effect the treaty concluded between his Britannic Majesty and the United States."—The *Ayes* and *Noes* were as follows:

AYES.—Messieurs Ames, *Bailey*, Bourne, Bradbury, Buck, *Christia*, Coit, Cooper, Crabb, *Dent*, A. Foster, D. Foster, Gilbert, Gilman, Glenn, Goodhue, Goodrich, *Gregg*, Griswold, Grove, *Hancock*, Harper, Hartley, Henderson, Hillhouse, Hindman, *Kitchell*, Kittera, Leonard, S. Lyman, Malbone, *Muhlenberg*, Murray, Reed, *Richards*, Sedgwick, Sitgreaves, J. Smith, N. Smith, Isaac Smith, S. *Smith*, W. Smith, Swift, Thatcher, Thomas, Thompson, Tracey, Van Allen, *Van Courtlandt*, Wadsworth, Williams.—51.

NOES.—Messieurs Baird, Baldwin, Benton, Blount, Brent, Bryan, Burgeis, Caleb, Claiborne, Clopton, Coles, Dearborn, Earle, Franklin, Gallatin, Gillespie, Giles, Greenup, Hampton, Harrison, Hathorn, Havens, Heath, Heister, Holland, Jackson, Livingston, Locke, W. Lyman, Maclay, Macon, Madison, Milledge, Moore, New, Nicholas, Orr, Page, Parker, Preston, Rutherford, Israel Smith, Sprigg, Swanwick, Tatom, Varnum, Venable, Winn.—48.

The resolution passed of course, and a Committee was appointed to bring in the bills.

The reader will recollect, that to know the real inclinations of the members, he must observe who voted for the call for papers, and who did not. In the present list for *Ayes*, I have marked in *italics* those members who have voted in favour of Mr. Livingston's *paper motion*, that such as laboured through the heat of the day may be distinguished

from such as did not drop in until the eleventh hour.

The Representatives who voted on this memorable question, may be divided into three classes: 1. staunch friends of the Constitution and the treaty; 2. the converts; 3. the hardened political sinners.

As to the first of these classes, I shall say nothing: the persons composing it are so much above all praise, that I could not hope to do them justice. They will find an ample reward in the success of their indefatigable efforts, and in the grateful acknowledgments of all their worthy constituents.

The second class, or the *converts*, merit but little thanks from any body. Their apologies for shifting fides were, as indeed apologies generally are, a most monstrous abuse of words. What, for instance, could be more ridiculous than for a man to get up and make a long harangue, in order to persuade *others* to vote against the treaty, and conclude with saying, that *he* should vote for it?—And why?—Because he would not create a division between the different branches of the Government! Surprising! He had voted for forcing the papers out of the President's hands; he had also voted for the resolution that was to remain as a protest against the President's refusing of these papers; and, at last, he votes for the treaty, in order to cultivate harmony between the different branches of the Government! The Gentleman seems to have fallen out with the other branches, merely to have the pleasure of making it up again. This farce may, then, take the name of a comedy lately written by a Citizen of Philadelphia: "The Triumphs of Love; or, Happy Reconciliation."

The fact is, however, this conversion was not owing to a conciliating disposition in the converted. Had it not been for the manly, prudent, and well-timed measures of the merchants of Philadelphia,
this

this important treaty would have been set aside*. However indifferent the converts might be to the suspension of enurance and the general shock given to business of every kind; however they might affect to laugh at the alarmists, they would have been afraid to return among their constituents, had they plunged the country into distress and confusion. Very probably their turn for roasting would have come: they might have seen their effigies dragged about in a dung-cart, with French gold in their hands. Happy might they have

* The following Memorial was presented to the House on the 17th of April.

" To the Honourable the House of Representatives of the United States.

" *The Memorial of the Subscribers, Merchants and Traders of Philadelphia,*

" Respectfully represents,

" That they have waited, with anxious expectation, to see the necessary measures adopted by your honourable House for carrying into operation the treaty concluded between the United States and Great Britain, and are now seriously alarmed lest those measures should be further delayed or entirely omitted.

" Under that impression, they deem it incumbent on them to represent, that the property of the merchants of the United States, amounting, upon a moderate computation, to more than five millions of dollars, has been taken from them by the subjects of Great Britain, the restitution of which they verily believe depends in a great measure upon the completion of the treaty on our part.

" Independent of this immense sum, they have embarked the principal part of their remaining fortunes in vessels and adventures, the safety of which will, as they apprehend, be materially affected by a refusal or neglect on the part of the United States to comply with stipulations so solemnly entered into. Besides their particular interests as merchants and traders, they feel an interest, in common with their fellow-citizens of other descriptions, in the preservation of peace, on which the prosperity of this country depends; and they should deem themselves wanting in that spirit and independence which ought ever to characterize freemen, if they forbear, on so interesting

have thought themselves, if a justly enraged people had confined their vengeance to the burning of images and pictures when the originals were at hand. Their recantation was, in short, like that of a man who sees the stake and the faggots before him. I look upon their support of Government, on the present occasion, as a sort of verbal conformity with a mental reservation. Few people are dupes enough to believe them sincere. The dose they have swallowed with so many wry faces, has only served to set their gall in motion: the executive branch of Government may expect at their hands every check and impediment that disappointed malice can suggest.

But little merit as I ascribe to the *converts*, and little hope as I have of their reformation, I must still prefer them to the hardened sinners; for though a sort of death-bed repentance, such, for instance, as that of the *casting voice*, can never be supposed to atone for a life of political sin, yet it is at any rate less offensive to morality and decency, than to hear the sons of reprobation blaspheming to the last gasp, and expiring with curses on their lips.

All the 48 members found in the Opposition on

“ an occasion as the present, to express their wishes and expectations. They, therefore, with all due respect for the Representatives of the people of the United States, beg leave to recommend that no partial considerations of policy may influence their decision on this important question; but that they both the honour and the interest of the nation may be preserved, by making the necessary provisions for carrying the treaty into fair and honourable effect.”

Nor did the merchants of the capital stop here: they appointed a Committee to correspond with other mercantile towns, and with the back counties of Pennsylvania. This measure brought such swarms of petitions from the people of property of every quarter of the Union, that the Opposition began to perceive how little their own strength was.

the definitive question concerning the treaty, will unavoidably meet with the approbation of the French National Convention. They all certainly merit the fraternal hug; but there are some of them whom it would be unjust to mix promiscuously with the common herd: these ought to have a kiss on both cheeks, while the rest might be put off with a kiss on one; or if French politeness will insist upon the *double baisers* to all, the five Kings might salute the leaders, while the rest might be left to the skinny-lipped blood-suckers of the Council of Elders.

In order to regulate the ceremonial, I shall point out those whom I think entitled to the distinguished honour of being flobbered by the five Sultans; observing, once for all, that I do not wish to depreciate the value of any man's labour, or interfere with any bargain that might be previously entered into between the parties. The labourer is worthy of his hire, whether he succeeds in his object or not.

To place the *Italian* at the head of these worthies is an act of justice, and an act of justice which I have the more pleasure in performing, as I have lately been accused (how falsely every body knows) of attempting to sink that Gentleman in the opinion of the public.

When the treaty-making power was to be attacked; or, in other words, when a breach was to be made in the Constitution, and such a breach as never could have been closed, the assailants seemed at a loss for a leader. Citizen Madison shrank from the task. The eyes of the phalanx at last turned towards the *Italian*. Murderers, when preparing for their horrid work, always choose from among their gang, some preciously ill-looking villain to give the first stab; that done, they fall on with less remorse, and dispatch the prostrate victim. I do not pretend to say that the assailants of the Constitution acted upon
the

the same maxims of physiognomy: no, God forbid I should say or insinuate any such thing; on the contrary, if person had any thing to do in the matter, I should rather suppose that the leader was chosen for his beauty.

Let, however, the motive to the choice be what it might, that it was a good one, we all know. With what art did the *Genevese* approach! How did he twist and turn when he found an obstacle in his way! How did his eyes glisten, when ready to dart in upon his devoted prey! Those that followed him had little more to do than to mouth over what they had heard, as the yelping puppies of the pack give tongue, when they hear the cry of the leading old hound.

—“The *staunch old bound*,
 “Guide of the pack, *although gaunt and ugly*,
 “Is yet of great account. He’ll oft untie
 “The Gordian knot, when reason at a stand,
 “Puzzling, is lost, and every art is vain.
 “*As party chiefs* in senates who preside,
 “With pleaded reason and with artful speech
 “Conduct the staring multitude; *so he*
 “*Directs the pack*, who with joint cry approve,
 “And loudly boast discoveries not their own.”

Had Somerville written his beautiful poem of *The Chase* but yesterday, with the late proceedings of the House of Representatives before his eyes, he could not have made a more apt allusion than is contained in the above-quoted passage. The rest did, indeed, with joint cry approve, and loudly boast discoveries not their own; but the sagacious and indefatigable *Genevese* untied the Gordian knot; and though his game at last escaped him, he is entitled to all the honours of the field. The grateful sportsman, to reward his faithful and laborious cur, claps him on the back and spits in his mouth. And so our *Italian* shall be distinguished from his colleagues by some superior reward.

After

After the *Genevese*, I think we must give the precedence to the *long man* from New-York, and the *short man* from Philadelphia.

From the first of these, who labours under an extreme poverty of talents, much could not be expected. His head is generally thought to be as empty as his purse ever was, yet he certainly surpassed all his fellow-labourers, except the cunning *Italian*. He set out with *blushing*, and I leave any one to guess at the efforts that must be made to get a blush through a skin like his. Besides, where will you find a young man of his pretensions, a kind of creole *Adonis*, as it were, who would risk his complexion for a single moment? Who would suffer his pure yellow, his fine golden hue, to be mixed with red, and thus debased to a vile copper colour? Who would, in short, suffer himself to be changed from a guinea to a halfpenny? I do not know whether the Gentleman has been *accustomed to such depreciations* or not; but if this be the first time, such a sacrifice is, in my humble opinion, worthy of a capital compensation.

I did not intend to trouble the reader with remarks on any particular passages of this Gentleman's speeches: they are generally such strings of plagiarisms, that, to censure them, ~~you~~ you must censure their authors; and this is sometimes disagreeable. One passage or two, however, call for observation, which I am the more ready to bestow on them, as they appear to be original.

The Gentleman, in defence of his *paper motion*, told the House that "it was impossible to determine
" that they would not *impeach* until the papers were
" seen. Facts might then appear which would render that an unavoidable measure which was not
" now contemplated. If, for instance, instead of a
" treaty with Great Britain, they were now discussing one formed with the Porte, where it is the
" custom for ministers to give and to receive *presents*;
" and

“ and on the production of the correspondence, it
 “ should appear that our Minister had received a
 “ *douceur* (bribe) on the signature of the treaty;
 “ would not the House think themselves obliged to
 “ impeach ?”

This is a supposition wound up with an interrogation. Now let us see if we cannot suppose and put questions as well as this *Adonis*. Suppose, then, that the electors of a certain district or city were silly enough to choose as their Representative, a man at once proud and poor, haughty and mean, insolent and crawling; suppose that this man were an insolvent debtor, who had visited the inside of a jail, and who had bilked his creditors by paying them but *three shillings in the pound*. Now should a man like this rise up in Congress, and adopting the sentiments, the style, and even the gesticulations of the mob, basely insinuate, that a public Minister, of unspotted fame, had received a bribe from a foreign Prince—what, I ask, would such a man deserve?—To be cut out at full length in a *living stone*, and stuck up at the corner of the *Fly-Market*, for the boys to throw rotten eggs at, till the statue became as yellow as the original.

The Gentleman declared (and very *sincerely*, without doubt) that his supposition was by no means applicable to Mr. Jay; and I declare, with equal sincerity, that my supposition is by no means applicable to Mr. Livingston, for whose feelings, as the reader must have already perceived, I have a wonderful tenderness; a tenderness, indeed, that I would wish to equal that which he has shown for the feelings of the President and Mr. Jay.

The next passage that attracts my attention seems to be a sort of side-wind eulogy on the five Kings and their mild and humane Government. “ All Europe,” says our *Adonis*, “ was once free; all Europe, with
 “ the *exception of France and Switzerland, are now*
 “ in

“ *in chains*. Where, then, will historical facts be
 “ found to justify the charge? In the obsequious
 “ Parliament of Britain?” &c.—Poor *Adonis*, how
 little does he know about all Europe! And is it pos-
 sible that any one, pretending to be a reasonable
 creature, should yet talk to us about French liberty?
 A decree launched forth by their merciful lords, the
 other day, will give us a pretty correct idea of
 Frenchmen’s freedom. This decree bears, “ that the
 “ parents of emigrants shall *now* give up to the
 “ nation that portion of their property which *would*
 “ have fallen, after their death, to their emigrant
 “ children.” Let any one judge from this, whether
 the poor devils are in *chains* or not. But why do I
 cite particular instances of their slavery? What oc-
 casion have I here to attempt a contradiction of what
 every one, even the most ignorant of the people,
 knows to be false and ridiculous? “ In Turkey, and
 “ in Morocco,” says PLAYFAIR, “ the people know
 “ under what despotism they groan; they know
 “ who their rulers are, and they know that what-
 “ ever injustice they may be guilty of towards indi-
 “ viduals, they must have some regard to the gene-
 “ ral interest, to the preservation of the whole. They
 “ have the satisfaction too of complaining to a
 “ friend in secret of their misfortunes; but the mi-
 “ serable French slave, who thinks himself a *free ci-*
 “ *tizen*, does not know who his masters are. He
 “ dares not complain, because all around him con-
 “ sider that their miseries are the effects of freedom
 “ and philosophy; and like the philosopher Pangloss,
 “ though ruined and miserable, they have been
 “ taught to say that all is as well as possible.—
 “ Wretched people! among whom every thing is at
 “ the disposition of a gang of intriguing despots,
 “ who, by means of a printing-press and reams of
 “ assignats, pillage the nation, and excite to mas-
 “ sacre and bloodshed!” This is the only people in
 Europe

Europe who, our *Adonis* tells us, is not in chains ! I can assure him that such an assertion, at this day, is barely honoured with a sneer. The people of America have at last opened their eyes. They have seen French liberty seated on her throne, the guillotine, surrounded with confiscations, guards, manacles, and dungeons ; they have seen French religion exhibited in blasphemies against the Almighty, and in the adoration of a common prostitute ; they have seen French humanity in the form of a child torn from its mother's womb, and writhing on the point of a bayonet. Yes, and they have seen the effects of French gold too ; and I can tell you, Mr. Livingston, that they despise the corrupter as well as the corrupted. French friendship they know they do not want, and French enmity is become the object of their contempt. To ply them then, Sir, with this old, ridiculous, threadbare tale of French liberty, though it may procure you a *feu de joie* from the hulks at New-York, is an insult to the understandings of your constituents, for which I much question if even your ignorance will be thought a sufficient apology.

But it seems there is one other nation, besides the French, who are *not in chains* ; the Swiss. It is something singular that our orator forgot the republics of *Batavia* and *Geneva*. They have both the happiness of having the same kind of free Government as his dear France. Their legislative and executive branches, and all their offices of state, excepting the prime minister, Citizen Guillotine, are the same. What, then, could render them unworthy of being called free nations ? How comes Switzerland, the best part of which *groans* under an aristocracy, to be preferred to these regenerated States, these apes of the French republic, these first-born of the great baboon ? Our *Adonis's* head was absolutely turned with his paper-kite motion.

Never

Never surely was poor youth so discomfited, scouted, and routed as he has been during this session. After a month's hard labour, the President refuses him a peep at the papers; he seeks vengeance, meets a second rebuff, and is at last reduced to the mortification of seeing the schemes of nine long months overturned in a single moment, in spite of the counter-efforts of his *worthy* relations at New-York, joined to those of the Chocolate-grinder and Sergeant Clarke. In this situation what is he to do? Jog back quietly to daddy's, make the most of his personal charms, ogle the fair sex in place of grinning at General Washington, and content himself with reading billets doux instead of state papers. But, for mercy's sake, let him take care how he *blushes*: "the *bankrupt*," says an author, "never yet found the fair one kind," and what then could he expect for a yellow boy who should blush himself to Jersey copper?

Having thus dismissed the long rawboned knight of the *woful countenance*, I must now beg the reader's respectful attention, while I bring on the scene, probably for the last time, the little duck legged Squire.—There he is, like a ballad-singer in a fair! don't fright yourselves, ladies; upon my soul he'll do you no violence. 'Tis as gentle a little creature as you ever set eyes on: you may even stroke him without apprehending the least mischief; do but listen to his speech, and he'll lick your hand like a spaniel.

This Gentleman's efforts on the opposition may be considered as confined to the exaltation of the *magnanimity of the King of Spain*, and that of his *own disinterestedness*. Indeed, both subjects were equally worthy of his small-talk eloquence. The magnanimity of a man who shakes hands in an humble peace with the murderers of the head of his family, is well matched with the disinterestedness of another,

another, who aims at the destruction of his country, or at least of all that is valuable in it, that he may raise himself on its ruins.

He told the House that "he had several vessels " at sea, not insured; that he had landed property " in great quantity;" and hence he took occasion to conclude, that he could not be suspected as wishing to involve the country in a war. This, indeed, from a man of moderate views, from a man of moderate vanity even, ought to have some weight; but from one like the person here spoken of, it ought to have none at all.

There are some men, who, as the poet says, " never are at heart's ease while they see a greater " than themselves." Such is this Gentleman. He must be every where, and every where at the head; and as it commonly happens with those of his stamp, nature has absolutely disqualified him for the attainment by fair means. Still, however, he drives on towards his object, and in his progress employs all those little arts that worth and genius disdain. How has he laboured to establish for himself the character of a man of learning and taste! How often and how barefacedly has he condescended to become his own puff in the common papers! How many letters has he written to distant places to ensure the insertion of articles in praise of himself! What incredible pains has he taken to procure the appearance of a silly poem, signed with his name, in a periodical publication of a foreign country!

He told the House of Representatives of his ships and his lands; he might have told them of his *house*, too, unless, indeed, he looked upon that as unnecessary, from its being so perfectly known. This house, which resembles, in furniture, a Dutch virtuoso's baby-hutch, is become a kind of rareeshow. The vain proprietor acts the part of a despicable showman. This house that Jack built is his hobby-horse;

horse; and when mounted on it, he is more an object of ridicule than the whore on the black ram, or poor Gulliver astride the nipple of the Brobdingnagian maid of honour.

Money however he has, and with this he finds his way into almost every meeting that bears the name of a *society*; a name, by the by, of which most men of sense begin to be heartily tired. Our Lilliputian, with his dollars, gets access where, without them, he would not be suffered to appear. But of all his little baits for admiration and consequence, none is surely so perfectly ludicrous as his becoming the Mentor of the *little misses*. That a vain man should condescend to cajole the mob, to grease the hands of the leaders of a club or society; that he should crawl to news-printers, or even run dangle about after spectators to admire his tasty mansion, is not so very surprising; but that he should so far defy the power of ridicule as to profess himself the periodical declaimer at the breakings up of a boarding-school, and even show an uncommon anxiety to have his speeches on those occasions published, is what no mortal could ever have expected, no, not from John Swanwick.

What attention is due to a man like this, when he produces the coincidence of his own interest with that of his own country as a proof that his conduct is in conformity to both? Such a man feels interested in nothing that does not bring food to his vanity; and if a greater quantity of this is to be obtained by the loss of his property than by its preservation, he will never scruple to hazard it. Where then are his disinterestedness and his patriotism?

At first glance, one would imagine that a being like this was formed for the contempt, or at least for the diversion of mankind; and, under certain Governments, he would, indeed, be harmless; but in a state where all depends upon the popular voice, I

do not know a more dangerous character. Of a proud man you have some hold ; his pride will not let him stoop to such meannesses, by which alone he can come at the power that makes him formidable ; while the vain one will stop at nothing. Knowing that the accomplishment of his hopes depends on the people, and that it is to numbers he must owe his success, he speculates in their errors and their prejudices, and turns them to his own advantage at the expense of the community. No rebuff, no ill treatment or discomfit, discourages him : kick him out at your front door, and he will come in at the back : drive him from one office or one assembly, and he will get into another : somewhere he will be, where he can make himself talked of. He is ever the cringing slave of power ; he adores it, in whatever hands it may be found : as he wheedles a democratic populace, so would he the cruellest despot on earth : he has not a drop of independent blood in his heart, and he is the mortal enemy of all those who have.

That such a man as this should be the Representative of a State of which I am an inhabitant, is, I must confess, a mortification ; as to representing me, however, he never did, nor shall he ever do it : therefore, as a fraction of the sovereign people, I do hereby, once for all, enter my protest against every thing that he may do, or have a hand in.— When he looks round, from his hobby-horse, on the multitude who have been weak enough to commit their interests to his sapient head and inflated heart, let him remember, that there is one who would not trust him with the stump of an old worn-out pen.

When I see people, who have chosen a Representative like this, brought to the verge of ruin by him and his associates, I cannot say I pity them. Many of the merchants and traders who were so

alarmed the other day, on account of the opposition to the treaty, had used every effort in their power to ensure this man's election. What must be their reflections, when they saw him, not only voting for the destruction of their property and themselves, but endeavouring to nullify their petition by another, signed by foreigners, blackguards, and negroes? Surely this ought to be a lesson to those, who are to choose or reject him another time. But, indeed, men of property, men who ought to be of weight, are in this country, as in most others, indifferent and slothful as to their political rights. Whatever may be the cause of this, the consequences are well known, they are already felt, and will from day to day, and from year to year, be felt more severely.

Thus I have endeavoured to justify the preference to be given to these three heroes of the *hardened sinners*. Citizen Madison was formerly reckoned as a sort of chief; but he has so sunk out of sight this campaign, that we can look upon him, at least, as no more than an aid-de-camp. The firm and *indivisible* phalanx of Virginia were led on by a younger, more bold, and more artful commander; had victory decided in their favour, the citizen would have put in his claim to a share in the glory of the day; but the timely desertion of the *heavy horse* of Philadelphia, and the disgraceful defeat that succeeded, have left him without even the hope of repairing his reputation. As a politician he is no more; he is absolutely deceased, cold, stiff, and buried in oblivion for ever and ever.

There are, then, but three of these gentlemen whom I look upon as entitled to the *collade frater-nelle* from the five Kings; the others must put up with a smack from the *elders* or *youngers*.

There is one difficulty remaining, which it will

not be very easy to get over ; that is, the parties are at such a distance from each other, that to embrace in person would be impossible, unless one or the other would be content to make a voyage ; a thing which we cannot expect ; for, like the buzzard, neither like to lose sight of their prey. 'Tis true, that in France they do embrace by proxy ; and probably this may be now resorted to. We can very well spare a deputation ; and if they should never return, few, I believe, would mourn their loss.

I now bid the opposers of the treaty farewell : they and I have been at war for rather better than a year : I have seen them completely beaten ; and though I pretend to no other merit than the little that is due to a diligent drummer or trumpeter, I must be permitted to rejoice as well as others. Rejoice I certainly do at their downfall, and notwithstanding I think it unmanly to set my foot upon the neck of a prostrate foe, no endeavours of mine shall be wanting to prevent them from rising again.

Paine's Age of Reason.

The Christian religion teaches men to forego their private interests for the sake of doing good ; it is not therefore surprising, that deists and atheists should forego their private interests for the sake of doing mischief. Things opposite in their nature must be expected to be opposite in their effects.

The Editor of the *Aurora* of Philadelphia (Mr. Franklin Bache) has advertized for sale a Second Part of Paine's *Age of Reason*, at a *low price*. It is said, he has received *fifteen thousand* copies of this from Paris, and it is very certain that he sells them at a price which will hardly pay first cost and expenses. When I went to school, I remember we had for a copy, "*Zeal in a good cause deserves applause.*" If
this

this old maxim be a true one, I would ask, what *zeal* in a *bad cause* deserves?

A person to whom the parties were well known, has assured me, that poor Paine imbibed his first principles of deism from Doctor Franklin; if so, it is possible that the Editor of the *Aurora* may look upon the distribution of the *Age of Reason* as a mean of propagating his grandfather's principles; and so far *some persons* will defend it, as an act of filial piety, or rather filial gratitude; for, as to piety, I think we may venture to leave it out of the question.

This grateful young man should, however, recollect, that a vender of poison will not be excused merely because the compound was kneaded up, or the receipt for it given by his ancestor. Deism cannot be well said to run in the blood, or I should really be afraid that the descendant of the illustrious old deist was contaminated. Charity bids me to hope the contrary, and to ascribe the excess of his zeal to the amiable motive above mentioned.

It is going too far, perhaps, to say, that any loss on these blasphemous pamphlets is to fall on Mr. Bache. The French Republic has ever shown a sincere desire of regenerating us, and as she finds us obstinate in politics, she may be willing to try her hand in another way. The papers have told us lately, that Mad Tom takes up his lodgings at the house of the American Ambassador; if this Second Part of the *Age of Reason* should have come to us under his auspices, it is a fact of a curious nature indeed.

As to the work itself, it cannot be better described than by saying that it is as stupid and despicable as its author. The wretch has all his life been employed in leading fools astray from their duty, and, as nothing is more easy, he has often succeeded. His religion is exactly of a piece with his politics; one inculcates the right of revolting against Government, and the other that of revolting against God. Having succeeded against the Lord's anointed (I mean

his and our *ci-devant* friend, the Most Christian King) he turned his impious arms against the Lord himself. This process is perfectly natural, as has been exemplified in the conduct of others as well as that of Paine.

How Tom came to think of exercising his clumsy battered pen upon the Christian religion, is what has excited a good deal of curiosity, without ever being well accounted for in this country: notwithstanding, the circumstances under which a man writes ought to be attended to in forming a judgment of his opinions, particularly if those opinions are new and extraordinary. For this reason I shall endeavour to trace this raggamuffin deist from America to his Paris dungeon, and to account for his having laid down the dagger of insurrection in order to take up the chalice of irreligion.

Thomas, after having retailed out a good deal of very *common sense*, commonly called *nonsense*, found himself rather richer than when he began*. This gave him a smack for revolutions; but finding himself sinking fast into his native mud, and pretty universally despised and neglected by the people of this country; finding, in short, that the Americans were returning to order, and feeling that his element was confusion, he crossed the Atlantic to bask in the rays of the French revolution.

The *Propagande* at Paris, that is, the society instituted for the propagation of the vile and detestable principles of the *Rights of Man*, as laid down in the

* In his Second Part of the *Rights of Man*, he says he has a place in the State of Delaware. Whether this be a lie or not, I cannot tell; but if it be true, it was certainly the product of the revolution; for every one knows he had nothing before. This was encouragement for him to try his talent in other countries: A confiscated castle in France, or some abbey where he might join sacrilege to robbery, was a sufficient temptation to lead him across the ocean.

famous French Constitution, fixed their Jacobinical eyes on Tom, as an excellent missionary for Great Britain and Ireland. Off goes Tom with his Rights of Man, which he had the abominable impudence to dedicate to *General Washington* *. The English Jacobins stared at him at first : he went a step further than they had ever dreamed of : his doctrines, however, grew familiar to their ears : they took him under their wing, and he made sure of another revolution. This security was his misfortune, and had nearly cost him a voyage to the South Sea.

From the thief-catchers in England Tom fled, and took his seat among the thieves of Paris. After having distinguished himself in execrating the Constitution he had written in defence of, he and two or three others set to work and made a new one, quite brand new, without a single ounce of old stuff. This covered Tom with glory soon after, when it was unanimously accepted by the rich, free, generous and *humane* French nation.

This may be looked upon as the happiest part of Tom's life. He had enjoyed partial revolts before, had seen doors and windows broken in, and had probably partaken of the pillage of some aristocratic stores and dwelling-houses ; but to live in a continual state of insurrection, " sacred, holy, organized " insurrection ;" to sit seven days in the week issuing decrees for plunder, proscription, and massacre, was a luxurious life indeed ! It was, however, a short life and a merry one : it lasted but five months. The tender-hearted philanthropic murderer, Brissot, and his faction, fell from the pinnacle of their glory : poor Tom's wares got out of vogue, and his carcass got into a dungeon.

* The *Second Part* was dedicated to *La Fayette*, to which nobody had any kind of objection.

This was a dreadful reverse for old Common Sense. To be hurled, all in a moment, from the tip top of the *Mountain* of the *Grande Convention Nationale* down to the very bottom of a stinking dungeon, was enough to give a shock to his poor unsteady brain. But this was not all; he well knew that the national razor was at work, and had every reason to suppose that his days were numbered. He lay extended on the dirt, like a sheep or a calf in a slaughter-house, expecting every moment that the butcher would come for him.

How Thomas came to escape, is something that will probably remain a mystery. It was said that *Danton* (the new chief tyrant) spared his life at the request of certain Americans; but this is improbable, not that some Americans might be found silly enough to petition for it, but because, when his enlargement was afterwards demanded, upon the score of his being an American, the ruling tyrants answered, that he was a *sacré Anglois*, a d—n'd Englishman. The fact is, I believe, *Danton* and his party despised Tom too much to run any risk of disobliging their friends in Great Britain and America, by taking away his worthless life. Be the motive what it might, he was kept in his cage, and there he wrote the First Part of his *Age of Reason*.

Now to the motive that led him to the composition of this blasphemous work, which was no other than that of saving his ugly uncombed head from the guillotine.

The reader will recollect that it was under the reign of *Danton* that the Christian religion was abolished by a decree. A few days before Tom's imprisonment the famous festival of Reason was held. A common strumpet was dressed up as the *Goddeſs Reason**, seated on a throne of turf, and, while in-

* She was guillotined soon after.

cenſe was burnt before her altar at ſome little diſtance, the idolatrous populace, with the Convention at their head, proſtrated themſelves before her. Not many days before this, the *conſtitutional* Biſhop of Paris *, with his Vicars and three Reſtors, came to the Convention and abdicated their religion, declaring themſelves to have been cheats, and that in future they would profeſs no other worſhip than that of *Reason*. In ſhort, *Danton* and *Robeſpierre* (then ſecond in command) were inceſſantly occupied in extirpating the ſmall remains of Chriſtianity from the minds of the poor brutified and enſlaved French. It was a neceſſary preparation to the bloody work they intended they ſhould execute.

Citizen Common Senſe knew this, and therefore it was not wonderful that he ſhould attempt to ſoften his lot, and prolong, perhaps, his miſerable days by ſomething from his pen, calculated at once to flatter their vanity and further their execrable views. Thomas had long railed againſt the baſeneſs of courtiers; but when the moment of trial came, he was found as baſe as the baſeſt. The high-minded republican Paine, who had ſet Lords and Kings at defiance, was glad to bend the knee before a vile, low-bred, French pettifogger. He deſcended to make uſe of the very phraſes that the new tyrants had introduced. The Goddeſs was called *Reason*, the church which was profaned by her worſhip was called the *Temple of Reason*, and the inſcription on the banners carried at the feſtival was “*The Age of Reason*” (*Le Siècle de la Raiſon*), the very title of Tom’s book. Baſe adulation! adulation not to be excuſed even by the ſituation in which he was. The old French clergy, with the daggers at their breaſt, ſcorned to purchaſe life at ſuch a price.

* The *conſtitutional* clergy means the *new* clergy, the clergy of the revolution, the apoſtates.

I would by no means be understood as believing that Paine's book was a desertion of his principles; for, as before observed, he had been corrupted years before. It is the disgraceful motive for publishing his creed that I am exposing. That it was done to make his court to the tyrants of the day, cannot be doubted; for in all his former works, if he has occasion to speak of the Christian religion, he does it in decent, if not respectful language. In his *Rights of Man*, for instance, he extols toleration, and observes, that *all religions are good*; but as soon as he had got into his new-fashioned study, a dungeon, he discovered that *they were all bad*, or at least the Christian religion, and it was of the divers denominations of that religion that he before *pretended* to speak. When he said that all religions were good, he was an abominable hypocrite, or he is one now, when he tells us that the Christian religion is a very bad one. Either he disguised his sentiments to deceive the English, or he has since done so to deceive *Danton* and *Robespierre*. Tom knows the value of a character for consistency too well to run the risk of losing it, unless upon a pressing emergency: but the guillotine was yet red with the blood of his comrades, and he well knew that there was but this one way of keeping his own corrupted streams within his veins.

It will be said by Tom's deistical friends, that the *Second Part* of the *Age of Reason* was written after his releasement, and at a time when he was in no danger. Very true; but the die was cast; the *First Part* was out, and there was no recalling it. He had openly attacked both Heaven and earth; he could do no more. One essay at blasphemy was as good as a thousand for establishing his new pretensions to infamy; but Thomas had now something else to attend to besides his reputation; I mean his belly.—The usual means of subsistence had failed: he was no longer a *great* Representative of a *great* and *free* people.

people. The handful of assignats he received daily were gone to some more staunch patriot; and the old Rights of Man was left to dine where he could. As to political drugs, Thomas's were grown out of vogue in France, as much as they now are in this country; his Constitution was declared to be the most stupid performance that ever issued from a sick brain, and its author fell into discredit as rapidly as he had risen to fame *. Among thousands of others, he experienced the sudden change in the opinions of the volatile Parisians: from being a sort of demi-god, he was become the most degraded thing in nature, a poor, half-starved, despised pretender to renown. Besides, the Constitution that was now coming into play, with a Council of Youngsters, and a Council of Elders, and five Kings, elected by *people of some property*, or, at least, *some qualification*, was what Tom never could defend with his right of universal suffrage and continual insurrection; and, for once, he had the prudence to hold his tongue.

Tom's fate in France was nearly what it had been in America; when it was no longer necessary to employ him, he sunk into neglect. Happy if he could have ceased eating when his insurrection talents became useless; but as he could not, he must continue to write: and as he was in a country where he was permitted to revile none but the Almighty, the Almighty he reviled. The present of poison he has sent to his "fellow-citizens" of America, is not therefore so much the work of choice as of necessity. The Second Part of the Age of Reason he wrote for a living, and the First Part he wrote for his life.

* *Insurrection, revolution, constitution*, a knowledge in all these seems to be a necessary qualification in a professor of the *Rights of Man*. Tom Paine understood the first perfectly well; he had a smattering of the second; but as to the third, he was, and if alive is, totally ignorant.

Those who prefer a few years of life to every thing else, may find an excuse for this degraded man : it is impossible for any of us to say how we should act at the foot of the guillotine. But what shall be said to those, who, pressed by neither danger nor want, make uncommon exertions to spread his infamous performance among the ignorant part of their countrymen, and thereby sow in their minds the seeds of vice, inquietude, and despair? Again; deists may find some apology for doing this; but who will dare to become the apologist of those bookfellers, who, professors of the Christian faith, throw out this bait of blasphemy to catch unwary comers, and, smiling at their simplicity, pocket the dirty pence? Such men (and they are but too numerous) are like the Hollander on the coast of Japan, who, to outstrip others in trade with the natives, tramples on the cross of his Saviour*.

Epitaph on Tom Paine†.

When the wight who here lies beneath the cold earth,
 First quitted the land that had given him birth,
 He commenc'd the apostle of bloodshed and strife,
 And practis'd the trade to the end of his life.
 Sedition and nonsense and lies to dispense,
 He took up the title of "*Old Common Sense* ;"
 Taught poor honest men how rich rogues to keep under,
 Excited to pillage, and shar'd in the plunder;
 But when there no longer was plunder to share,
 His "*common sense*" led him to seek it elsewhere.
 To his countrymen now he return'd back again,
 The wronger of rights and the *righter* of men ;

* I know a printer and bookfeller who has taken for his sign the picture of the blasphemer Paine. This undoubtedly is to inform the *amateurs* of insurrection and infidelity that they may be supplied within. It is no more than fair to impute this intention to him who hangs out such a sign. When *Katterfelto* placed the picture of the Devil over his door, it was to inform people that hell was to be seen in his house.

† At the time this was written it was generally believed that Paine was dead.

He

He told them they still were a nation of slaves,
 That their king was a fool, and his ministers knaves;
 And the only sure way for the people to thrive
 Was to leave neither one nor the other alive.
 But Thomas, who never knew when he should stop,
 Went a little too far, and was catch'd on the hop.
 In short, 't was determin'd that poor Tom should lose
 His ears at a post, or his life in a noose.
 "Old Common Sense" boggles, then skulks out of sight,
 Then packs up his rags and decamps in the night.
 His arrival at Paris occasions a fête,
 And he finds in the den of assassins a seat.
 Here he murders, and thieves, and makes laws for a season;
 Is cram'd in a dungeon, and preaches up—"Reason;"
 Blasphemes the Almighty, lives in filth like a hog,
 Is abandon'd in death, and interr'd like a dog.
 Tom Paine for the Devil is surely a match:
 In hanging Old England he cheated Jack-Catch;
 In France (the first time such a thing had been seen)
 He cheated the watchful and sharp Guillotine;
 And at last, to the sorrow of all the beholders,
 He march'd out of life with his head on his shoulders.

French Generosity.

On the 27th of April last, there appeared, in the Philadelphia Gazette, an order, said to be issued by the French Convention (I lump the five Kings and Council of old ones and Council of young ones all together), to the commanders of their privateers, concerning the papers of Mr. *Spillard*, the famous traveller. The person who sends this article to Mr. *Brown*, requests him to publish it, as "it will be acceptable to every friend of the French nation, and of useful discoveries."

Before we say any thing about the order itself, we ought to observe, that it is published to give pleasure to the friends of the French, by extolling French generosity. The friends of *useful discoveries* too are to be obliged; and the paragraphist seems to hint, that those who are friends of the latter must be of the former. I must allow that the French have made

made several *new* discoveries, as, for instance, forced loans, assignats, the maximum, requisitions, revolutionary tribunals, festivals to Reason, drowning-boats, shooting *en masse*, and the renowned guillotine. While *Spillard* has been employed in exploring the back parts of America, the French have been employed in exploring both back and belly parts of the human body: they have been cutting off the breasts of women and secrets of men; they have been tearing out the heart from the breast, and the embryo from the womb. These are certainly discoveries; but, I imagine, the "friends of France" alone will think them "*useful*" ones.

Now to the *generous* order. After having run on a long while, in the usual bombastical cant of the Convention (but with *less* *vaunting* than formerly), the order says:

"As a philosophical traveller, he knew the chances of war: he knew how *formidable the courage of the French was*. By venturing on sea to reach his country, he undoubtedly puts his confidence in the *generosity of a great republic*, founded upon the love of *virtue, the sciences, and arts*.

"No, *Spillard's* hope shall not be in vain; and to have recapitulated here his interesting labours, is sufficient to be convinced of the readiness of his captors to assist the views of the Government. That is a debt which they will acquit in the name of the Republic; a *great lesson* which they will give to *our enemies*, and a great claim to the glory which they will acquire; for a *good action* deserves as much as a great victory."

The Convention could not, all at once, leave off their old style. We must yet be dummed with the *formidableness of French courage*; and poor *Spillard* must be called a *philosopher*, a name now synonymous with cut-throat. They must yet keep up their cant about a *great republic*, and their love of *virtue* and

and of the *arts* and *sciences*. We have indeed seen some few instances of the force of their genius, and of their application, in the *discoveries* above enumerated ; but how long is it, I would be glad to know, since they have become the patrons and protectors of the *arts* and *sciences* ?

I have a book lying before me from which I shall here borrow a fact or two. The library at Aney was crammed into hogsheds ; at Narbonne the books were sent to the arsenal ; at Fontaine le Dijon the library of the Feuillants was thrown aside as waste paper. Many of the libraries of monks contained editions printed in the first days of the art of printing ; books, sold in France for a few crowns, were sold in London for 125 guineas. A clock *en malachite* was sold for a trifle, though the only one existing. They mutilated or destroyed all the famous statues, one in particular that cost 200,000 livres. At Pont Mousson, a large picture, which connoisseurs offered to cover with guineas as its price, was sold for less than two. At Nancy, in the space of a few hours, they broke and burned to the value of 100,000 crowns in books and pictures. At Lyons 800 antique medals of gold were thrown into the crucible. The antiquities of Arles were destroyed to come at saltpetre.

One member of this Vandal Convention proposed to destroy the portal of St. Denis ; another wanted to kill all the rare animals in the Museum of Natural History ; a third said he did not like learned men, and that the term was synonymous with aristocrat ; a fourth proposed, that soldiers might be promoted to generals, without being able to write : to conclude, one of these monsters said, that *all men of genius should be guillotined*.

These are lovers of the arts and sciences ! These are the Representatives of that *great* republic to whose

whose *generous* forbearance *Spillard* is to owe the recovery of his papers. Amazing change! These people, who burnt *Horace* and *Virgil* because they had been encouraged by kings, and who destroyed the *royal* library, merely because it was royal, are now using their utmost endeavours to preserve the papers of *Spillard* for the use of a *king*, and, oh ye gods! for a King of England too!—a “despot,” with whom they were “never to make peace, till “ he begged it on his knees, with a halter about his “ neck!”

Kind, forgiving, *generous* fellows! How are they reformed! They who, in the beginning of the war, seized on the property, even to the very clothes, of all the British subjects who happened to be in France, and threw their persons into loathsome prisons, where hundreds of them perished; they who, *in the days of their success*, issued a decree for murdering every Briton taken in the field of action; they, whose cannibal agents dug the half-rotten body of the brave *General Dundas* from the grave, and hung it on a gibbet—yes, these very people are now uncommonly solicitous to save, for an English gentleman, the little memorandums he may have made in his travels!

How shall we possibly account for all this? Let us see if the closing sentence of the extract I have given from their order, will not throw some light on the matter. “This will,” say they, “give a “ *great lesson to our enemies*; for a *good action* deserves “ as much as a *great victory*.” So, so; daddy *Merlin* is coming round, is he? A great lesson of *generosity* is to be given to their enemies, and this good action is to yield them as much as a *great victory*? This is what you may call coaxing. No, no; none of your good actions; keep them for your friends, and your great victories for your enemies.

And

And do I live to see the *Grande Convention Française* wheedling “the nation of shopkeepers?”—the people of that devoted Carthage, which they promised us they would destroy! They may wheedle long enough: Pitt has not forgotten that his head was to be brought before them, as a preliminary to any peace they might *grant* to the “shopkeeping nation:” he has not forgotten that they guillotined him in effigy along with his Royal Master.

When the reader compares their *patronage* of the arts and sciences, in their own country, and their *generosity* shown towards the English, in their prosperous days, with their *pretended* motives set forth in this generous order, I am persuaded he will attribute their change of conduct to the proper cause.

Pray, then, Mr. Brown, the Gazette-man, let us hear no more of your French generosity. For shame, Sir! how can you suffer your fine large Gazette to talk about French virtue? Tell your correspondent, if he should pester you with such another paragraph, that the bore is discovered; tell him that the “friends of France” are very much reduced in numbers, and are daily and hourly decreasing. Tell him, above all, that nothing can keep the sans-culotte cause alive but an immediate supply of the ready; that the “friends of France” are not to be satisfied with mere sounds of *generosity*; that fraternity and flattery go but little way at the shambles or the grog-shop; and that, in short, flour-merchants or not flour-merchants, they all prefer “solid pudding to empty praise.”

Remarks on the poetical Works of John Swanwick of Philadelphia.

In the last Censor I made my readers a sort of half-promise to give them some account of the poeti-

cal works of Mr. Swanwick ; and I am now preparing to fulfil it.

These works are as yet confined to a poem, which is to be found in the Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1795, published by *Sylvanus Urban*, of the city of London. The reader will be surprised that a poem, written in Philadelphia, should be exported to England for publication : I was and am yet surprised at this ; and still more, that *Citizen Swanwick* should send his works to the editor of a *Gentleman's Magazine*. He had heard, I presume, that this is the repository of most of the little fugitive pieces written by men of learning and genius, and so he condescended to enrich it with a piece of his own. This was certainly generous in him, if we recollect what a hatred he has for all that is *gentlemanlike*.

The poem is entitled, "The Prospect of seeing the Fine Arts flourish in America." After having spoken of the epoch when the artists of America shall stay at home "to finish the glories of the risen day of Columbia," our author, by a happy transition, turns our eyes to what we already possess :

" But see what *flowrets* we already claim,
 " What lovely *harbingers* of future fame !
 " Behold *philosophy's* bright temple rise,
 " And fanes to learning every where surprise ;
 " What *schemes of charity* the soul excite
 " To acts of bounty and unmix'd delight !
 " Some to the jail with *pitying steps* repair,
 " To minister to woes that *languish* there ;
 " Others the bed of *raging illness* smooth,
 " And the worst pangs of human sorrow sooth."

Thus, then, *schemes of charity*, *visiting the jail*, and *ministering to the sick*, are, by Mr. Swanwick, called "*flowrets*, the lovely *harbingers of fame*;" and hence are to spring the *fine arts*. Never did I before

fore hear that *poor-houses, jails, and sick-beds* were places for cultivating or encouraging the *fine arts*. Mr. Swanwick may there practise fine arts, perhaps such as are necessary to gain him votes at an election ; these are very fine arts indeed. But stop ; there are more of these arts to come yet :

“ Some to fair Freedom *living altars raise*,
 “ And bid *the negro* celebrate her praise ;
 “ Others the *farmer* with their cares embrace,
 “ And pay due homage to his useful race ;
 “ Some *manufacturers and their arts* protect,
 “ Others *humane establishments* erect.
 “ But cease the *Muse ! —*”

Our poet alludes to the *Negro Society*, or Abolition Society, as it is called ; and I am ready to allow it a place among the harbingers of the fine arts. This society is, indeed, a nursery for some of the finest arts ever practised either in Europe or America. But how comes our author to number *farming and manufacturing* among his fine arts ? Ploughing and grubbing, and making anchors and cables, or grinding snuff, or boiling up sugar ; these do not seem to me to be *fine arts*. After these come “ *humane establishments* ;” and, though these had been before enumerated, Mr. Swanwick must thus sum them up together, and express them over again, for fear we should imagine that he did not look on them as mere tricks of art. Mercy on us ! Who ever heard before, that *humane establishments* were among the hot-beds of the fine arts ?

So much for the vein of absurdity running through this metre—now to the nonsense.

Ministering to woes may be a fine art ; but when we are told that these woes *languish*, what are we to think of the fine artist ? To *languish* is to *pine away*, to *droop*, to *sink under affliction*. Now, can it be said that a woe *pires* and *droops* ? Let us change

the principal words in this line for such as are synonymous with them, but rather more familiar, and we shall be struck, nay, knocked down with the nonsense—

“ *To succour pains that pine in the jail.*”

I could say something about the *raging* illness of sorrow, and sorrow *stretched upon a bed* too; but I hasten on to the *living altars* of Freedom. The poet tells us, that the Slave Society raise living altars to Freedom, and then bid *the negroes* celebrate her praise. Now, what are these *living altars*? Why, the persons freed, *the negroes themselves*; and so, these kind gentlemen bid *the altars praise the goddesses*! They will stand in no need of priests, at any rate.

With respect to the *farmer*, I will leave it to the experience and good sense of the reader to determine, whether it be either usual or fitting to *pay homage* to the race of him *whom we have taken under our care and patronage*. Our poet often makes use of figures of rhetoric, but that of the *gallimatia* is the only one he has perfectly at command. It requires neither learning nor taste to discover that he has a plentiful lack of both.

Butler, in remarking on the verses of the would-be poets of his time, says they made one line for *sense* and one for *rhyme*. It is certain that this is a most sure mark of sterility; but our little man goes a step further, or rather falls a step short, of this: he has one line for *rhyme*, and the other for nonsense.

This piece of rhyming prose I do not scruple to pronounce the most miserable attempt at versification that ever appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine; nor can I persuade myself that the editor would ever have admitted it without a *douceur*. It
appeared,

appeared, indeed, to have experienced some considerable delay; for it is dated in 1788. Certain I am, that if old Sylvanus Urban had been acquainted with our little author's principles in politics, he never would have suffered his chiming to enter his repository.

Had this piece been scratched out in a hurry, and sent away to the newspaper, one might have winked at its faults, one might have yawned over its insipidity, and thrown it aside; but here is a studied trap for fame; this poor dull morsel had been copied over a hundred times, perhaps, before it was sent all the way to Old England. I think I see the little poet now, scratching his head and gnawing his pen, telling his fingers and searching his rhyme-book. Alas! Mr. Swanwick, people do not make poetry this way. They may hammer out lines till they clink; but as to poetry, it never was hammered out of a dull brain.

What is most laughable, is, to hear the little man calling out upon the *Muse*—"But cease the *Muse*!" As much as to say that the *Muse* had inspired the small-beer verses we have above extracted! It is with rapture I hear Milton invoke the heavenly *Muse*, or Shakespeare wishing for a *Muse* of fire; but when, at the end of fifty lines of vapid metre, I hear the little whiffling poetaster calling on his *Muse* to cease her course, a sneer contracts the muscles of my nose, in spite of all my complaisance and compassion.

If Mr. Swanwick reckons the noble art, taught by the famous *Martinus Scriblerus*, I mean the *art of sinking in poetry*; if he reckons this among the fine arts, I congratulate him on having brought it to perfection, for he has certainly rolled from the very bottommost step of the *Bathos*.

Thus it is to be a pretender to universal genius, without having any genius at all. Instead of get-

ting renown, a man gets himself laughed at. It is a real misfortune. Mr. Swanwick might have been happy all his days as a *tide-waiter*; but, from his dabbling in a variety of *arts* for which he is not calculated, he will most probably preserve through life that character so despicable among partisans—"a *Jack* of all trades, and *master* of none."

French Fraternity.

Since the autumn of 1793, we have heard talk about little else than British depredations on the American commerce. Most of the newspapers have been crammed with philippics against the British Government on this account; the nation have been called thieves, and their King the great sea-robber. This was not very decent language; but even this was surpassed by certain members of Congress, who seemed to vie with each other in the use of that sort of rhetoric usually called *Billinggate*. I have their speeches now before me, but the extracts I would wish to give from them are too lengthy, and I should be sorry to mutilate such elegant compositions.

I am the last on earth that would attempt to justify injustice; I cannot therefore be thought to approve of the depredations of the British; but at the same time I know they have been a thousand times falsely accused, that every art has been made use of to exaggerate their violences, that the number of vessels taken by them has been counted fifty times over, and that language has been imputed to them which they never held.

Nor can the British be justified by saying that they have done no more than imitate the French; but we must be permitted to wonder that the depredations of one nation should excite such a lively resentment as to push the country within a hair's breadth

breadth of a war; while equal depredations on the part of France should excite not the least discontent, except among the merchants immediately feeling the loss. At the very moment that the members of Congress were execrating the sea-robbers of Britain, and ordering General Confiscation and Admiral Embargo to take up arms against them; at this very moment the depredations of our dear, generous, *humane*, and *pure-fingered* allies had committed greater havoc and acts of dishonesty than "the King of pirates" (to use a legislative expression) or his subjects had ever done. I have in another work quoted the Report delivered to the House of Representatives on this subject, stating "that the French had not only "been guilty of *depredations equal to those of the British*, but that they had, besides, violated the "treaty between the two countries, and had, "moreover, cheated the American merchants by "discharging in depreciated assignats a contract "which should have been discharged in coin."

When this Report came to be examined, every *un-corrupted* man was astonished to hear members fall upon the British tooth and nail, while they were ready to give the *baiser fraternel* to the robbing Carmagnoles. One said, that as to the depredations of France, "*some allowance* must be made for a great "nation, combatting in the *cause of liberty*, and that "*he made no doubt* that magnanimous people would "be ready to make every just compensation." This was the reasoning of those times, and so an Envoy was sent to obtain redress from Britain, and which by the treaty is obtained; but some allowance was made for the *great* nation who was fighting in the cause of liberty, and therefore all account against her died away.

The merchants, however, though generally partial enough towards the *grande Republique*, still recollected the loss which has been ever since increasing.

These men are too well acquainted with book-keeping to be real good republicans *à la Française*. They were as ready as any body “*to make some allowances*” for the excesses of the French, provided always that those allowances did not come out of their pockets. Their excesses in the Low Countries, their robbing of the merchants at Amsterdam, set the bells to ringing at Philadelphia; but when they came to lay their fraternal fingers on the Philadelphians themselves, oh! then they were sad rogues, and so the merchants send a Memorial to Congress.—Now we shall hear their own history of the affair.

“*The Memorial, &c. respectfully sheweth,*

“ That the Memorialists, and divers others in the
 “ regular course of their trade in the years 1793;
 “ 1794, and 1795, invested large sums of money in
 “ provisions and other merchandises suited to the
 “ West Indian market, and sent them thither, where
 “ many cargoes were sold to the officers of Colonial
 “ Administration of the Republic of France, to be
 “ paid for in cash or colonial produce; many others
 “ were taken by force by the said officers, from the
 “ supercargoes and consignees, at *prices arbitrarily*
 “ *fixed by themselves*, to be paid for in produce at rates
 “ and terms of credit fixed at their pleasure; and
 “ that *others have been arrested on the high seas*, car-
 “ ried into their ports, and taken for the use of the
 “ Republic, without any stipulated price or contract;
 “ that your Memorialists confidently believe that
 “ the amount of property belonging to the citizens
 “ of the United States, thus delivered to and taken
 “ by the administrative bodies of the French Repub-
 “ lic in the West Indies, *exceeds two millions of dol-*
 “ *lars now in arrear*, for which your Memorialists
 “ and others concerned have no mode of obtaining
 “ payment, satisfaction, or redress. That the usual
 “ course is, after taking the cargo by force and
 “ *dureté,*

“durefs, to detain the veffels under pretence of pay-
 “ing in produce, until the mafters and crews are
 “wearied with idlenefs, ficknefs, delay, *and infuls*,
 “fo as to be willing to return either altogether with-
 “out pay, or with fuch fmall portions thereof, as
 “fcarcely to pay the freight and charges occafioned
 “by thefe long delays; whereby in moft inftances
 “the whole capital has been left behind; and in
 “thofe inftances where a confiderable part of the
 “cargo has been paid for in colonial produce, the
 “expenfes of demurrage have confumed almoft the
 “whole, as by vouchers ready to be laid before the
 “House or a Committee thereof will abundantly ap-
 “pear.

“Your Memorialifts further fhew, that fome of
 “the earlieft fufferers among them applied perfon-
 “ally and by memorials to *Citizens Genet, Fauchet,*
 “and *Adet, the firft and fucceeding Minifters of the*
 “*French Republic, for redrefs, without obtaining it.*
 “They alfo applied by memorial to the Prefident
 “of the United States, who referred them to the
 “Secretary for the department of State, whofe ad-
 “vice they purfued in committing their claims to
 “James Monroe, Efq. Minifter Plenipotentiary of
 “the United States to the Republic of France, at
 “the time of his embarkation. That although your
 “Memorialifts are perfectly fatisfied that the exe-
 “cutive authority of the Union hath done all with-
 “in its power to procure redrefs to your Memorial-
 “ifts, yet it has not had the defired effect.

“Your Memorialifts further represent that they
 “had hoped that fome arrangement would have
 “been affented to, whereby the debt due from the
 “Republic of France to the citizens of America
 “might have been difcharged out of the debt due
 “to her from the United States, and under this
 “expectation they *exercifed patience*; but finding
 “that money funded and *transferred to an agent of*
 “the

“ *the Republic*, all hope from that resource is vanished.

“ Your Memorialists feel the more concern, that while *provision has been made by the Executive of the Union for obtaining from other nations a redress for spoliations* committed on their commerce, no measures adopted have been successful for procuring similar satisfaction from that nation which the merchants of this have shown *so decided an affection to*, by supplying their islands with provisions and necessities at a *greater risk than attended any other branch of their trade*—supplies that were absolutely necessary to their colonies, and which they could from no other place nor in any other manner be furnished with.

“ Your Memorialists therefore pray that the Legislature will take their suffering case into consideration, and afford them such relief and protection as to their wisdom shall seem consistent with right and justice.”

Some people will pity and others will laugh at these Memorialists: the French republicans will be among the latter. Upon my word, it was very cruel of our dear allies: after having received such proofs of our “ *so decided affection*,” to cheat and insult us even more than the “ great sea-robber” did! After the patriotic and affectionate captains had run the gauntlet, as it were, to get into the ports of their dear friends and allies to save them from starving, how silly they must look to have their cargoes seized, and be themselves thrown into a dungeon! This was often the case. I have once before said that the Carmagnoles called them, *les capitaines à coup de bâton*, or *caned captains*; just as their Convention called the Prussians, *les soldats à coup de bâton*, or *caned soldiers*. Indeed they did often beat and kick these captains; and though the poet tells us that such kind of blows wound honour more than any other, yet we have never heard this called a national dis-

grace:

grace : on the contrary, the more these fellows were kicked, the louder did they cry *Long live the Republic!* and the more lies did they bring us in her favour.

The hearts of the patriots at home partook of the insensibility of the backs and posteriors of the gallant mariners ; and had it not been for this after-clap Memorial of the merchants, the whole would have sunk into oblivion.

Some persons of extraordinary patriotism went so far as to apologize for the conduct of the French ; as thus : “ The mother-country, engaged in combat-
“ ting despotism at home, and endeavouring to calm
“ those troubles which exist in her bosom, cannot
“ pay sufficient attention to the filling the offices in
“ the islands with honest and upright characters,
“ otherwise they certainly would not suffer the con-
“ duct pursued. This is proved by the *honourable*
“ *and very ample payment for damages and demurrage*
“ *made to Americans detained in their ports.* They
“ are therefore not implicated in the charge of de-
“ predation.” (See the *Aurora* of 28th May, 1795.)

Now Great Britain was at war in Europe as well as France was ; why then was not the same apology applicable to her ? But this apologist says, that *ample payment was made for damages, &c.* If this be true, the Memorialists are mistaken, for they say there are *two millions* of dollars yet unpaid in May, 1796. I know very well that the French promised to pay amply : I recollect that when Mr. Randolph’s Report (the substance of which I have above noticed) was published, it was accompanied with a note from his *intimate friend* Fauchet, declaring the readiness of the French Republic to make immediate compensation. This had the desired effect ; for though a single farthing will never be paid, the declaration was looked upon as an acknowledgment of the debt, and as a security for the future ; while the English Minister, not daring to make a promise which he

was

was not sure would be fulfilled, was obliged to remain silent, and his silence was considered as a proof that his court not only authorized, but was resolved to continue its depredations. But how deceitful are appearances! He that promises every thing pays nothing, and he that promises nothing pays every thing.

Either the apologist tells us a falsehood, or the merchants tell us one. I have no great inclination to interfere with the matter: I leave them to settle it between themselves; or if they should be obliged to call in an umpire, none is so proper as the dear nation for whom they both have "shown so decided
"an affection."

New Discoveries in the Regions of Corruption.

In the introduction to this work, I promised the public "to give an account of every democratic
"trick, whether of native growth or imported from
"abroad, to unravel all the windings of the pretended patriots, and more particularly those of the
"flour-merchants." Under this engagement, I should think myself inexcusable, were I to remain silent at a time when, if new plots are not absolutely discovered, such are talked of in a manner calculated to excite general curiosity.

Satisfied in my own mind, as I have long been in the habit of declaring, that there is a numerous faction in this country acting under French influence, and even in French pay, I must naturally rejoice at the discovery of whatever promises to be more successful than any thing I have hitherto been able to say in convincing the people of the existence of this faction. Under this impression it is that I publish the following article from the *Minerva* of New-York, and that I add such observations as appear to me pertinent.

Extract

*Extract of a Letter from an American, dated Paris,
Feb. 14, 1796.*

“ Could you imagine, my dear Sir, that any American citizens could be so abandoned as to invite France to attempt, by coercion, to prevent the free exercise of the judgment of our country concerning its own interests, and to awe it into a surrender of its own opinion to the mandate of a foreign country ? Yet so the fact undoubtedly is.—
 “ *Influential men on your side of the water have invited the French Government to speak to ours a decided language against the execution of the treaty with Great Britain, and even to go so far as to claim our guarantee of the French West Indies ; placing before us the alternative of war with France or Great Britain.* The idea has been listened to by the Government, and it has been in contemplation to send a new Minister with a fleet to carry the plan into effect : though I am inclined to hope that it has been recently laid aside. The extreme embarrassments of the affairs of their country, especially with regard to its finances, and more serious reflections on the hazard of driving us into an election to take side with Great Britain, as well from the exposed state of our commerce, as from the resentment which so dictatorial a conduct would naturally inspire, have at last produced a halt ; and I trust that the hesitation which has begun, will end in a resolution not to risk so unjust and so mad a proceeding. Would to heaven that the war was at an end ! For we shall not be safe from the machinations of this wicked portion of the globe till that event takes place. Justice and morality have fled from Europe—but, alas ! are they flying from America also ? *I dare not trust to this mode of conveyance the persons supposed to be the authors of this nefarious plot.* But a few
 “ months

“ months may enable me to make the disclosure
 “ with more certainty, *where I can do it with perfect*
 “ *safety.*”

This intelligence, if true, at once decides the question of French influence and corruption; it is therefore of the utmost importance to form a correct opinion concerning it. Let us first see what claims the letter itself has to authenticity, and then whether the alarming information it contains be corroborated by facts already known.

The Gazette in which this extract first appeared is remarkable for its impartiality. The editor is a man of much experience in his business, and enjoys a high reputation for candour and understanding. It is not probable that such a man should be deceived with respect to the authenticity of the letter, and it is still less probable, that he should be prevailed on to print it, not believing it authentic. The manner, too, in which he introduces it to the public, seems to me to be a strong proof of his persuasion, that it would be soon followed up with a more explicit account. Indeed, had he not believed that the whole affair must finally come to light, it is hardly credible that he would have hazarded a piece of intelligence reflecting such indelible dishonour on a portion of his countrymen, and not capable of answering any good purpose whatever.

The editor has never shown himself the enemy of France. He has not, indeed, like hundreds of others, approved of the massacres in that country; but the instant those massacres ceased, he contributed his dole of praise to the triumphant *moderates*.—He was among the first to oppose the principles of the present Constitution in France to those of our Jacobins; and though he was mistaken here, though he was opposing mischief to mischief, the mistake proves that the present French Government had his approbation; and as it still continues the same, it must still
 have

have that approbation. There is then no reason to suppose that he would lend his hand to a fabrication tending to discredit the French Government. In truth, he is over-cautious in speaking of it. If the intelligence be true, the hardest terms he has for the conduct of such an infamous and treacherous nature are, "*unkindness and imprudence.*" A man who could so far get the better of the feelings he must entertain upon the sight of this intelligence, is rather to be suspected of a partiality for, than against the French Government.

The editor of the *Minerva* has, 't is true, been a bold and able defender of the British treaty; he might therefore be supposed to be anxious for its success, as all men are zealous in a cause they have decidedly espoused; but this cause stood no longer in need of support when the extract appeared, the treaty having passed the House of Representatives sixteen days before. Had this intelligence been a mere invention to stir the people up against the Opposition, or rather against their destructive projects, it should have made its appearance at the time when petitions were handing about for and against the treaty. At that time such a battery might have been opened to good purpose; but after the treaty was sanctioned, it would have been playing it off upon the defeated and the dead.

In short, there is no reason whatever to suppose, that the editor would have published the extract, believing it a fabrication; and as it is almost impossible he should be duped by any fabricator, we must believe it authentic, especially when we see the intelligence contained in it strongly corroborated by facts already most clearly and unequivocally ascertained.

It is certain that every American who loves his country, and who consequently feels a deep concern
I for

for its honour, must be fired with indignation upon hearing that "certain influential men on this side of the water had invited the French Government to force the Government of America to set aside the treaty, and that the French rulers had listened to the proposal;" but the editor of the *Minerva* must excuse me, if I think it rather surprising, that he should imagine either one or the other "impossible." Says he, "It seems impossible that any American Citizens should be so lost to all sense of virtue and duty, as to endeavour to bring upon their country so great an evil; and it seems less probable, that the Government of France should so far forget our rights as an independent nation, and be so unmindful of the spirit and genius of freedom, as to be disposed to follow the pernicious advice." Now the truth is, that what is here represented as next to impossible, is no more than a continuation of what we have been witnesses of during four successive years.

In order to form a correct opinion as to the probability of the truth of the intelligence from Paris, we must go back to the epoch when the ruinous and ruined French nation was first *called* a Republic*, and trace down the chain of the machinations of its tyrants to the moment when the hostile determination, the *ne plus ultra* of impudence and of perfidy, is said to have been formed.

When *Brissot* and his colleagues declared war against Great Britain, Holland, and Spain, they formed the plan of forcing this country to make a common cause with them. For this purpose Citizen Genet was sent out to replace Mr. Ternant, bringing with him the necessary instructions, and the

* I say *called*, because France is no more a Republic in reality than Turkey or Morocco, or any other despotic state.

still more necessary *rouleaux of louis-d'ors**. As it was foreseen that the Executive of the United States would resolutely oppose the overtures for war, Genet was to effect by force what could not be effected by persuasion. If the Government of America was ready to aid the cause of France, it was to be respected, but if not, it was to be destroyed by stirring up the people to opposition.

Instead, therefore, of coming directly to the seat of Government, the Citizen landed at one of the ports the most distant from it, and in a part of the Union the most likely to be led astray by his seductive and seditious arts. On his arrival he found a proclamation of neutrality, strictly forbidding the people of these States to do any thing contrary to their duty as a nation at peace with all the world; but, in place of acknowledging this right of a neutral nation, what did he do? He issued letters of marque and military commissions: by sea he sent Americans to cruise on the British, and by land to invade the Spanish dominions. His journey through the southern States was a kind of triumphal procession, and he at last made his public entry at Philadelphia more like a viceroy or a conqueror than a foreign minister.

His introductory letter to the Secretary of State was a clear declaration of his intentions. "When," says he, "the emissaries of our *common enemies* are making *useless efforts* to neutralize the gratitude of your fellow-citizens," &c. This language was an unequivocal proof that he despised the President

* Some time ago I had a note sent me, giving an account of the deposit as well as the removal of certain *rouleaux*, accompanied with a poem, entitled, "The Confessions of *François Louis-d'or*." The author has my thanks for both; but want of room has delayed their publication for the present.

and his proclamation of neutrality, and that he depended on the people for support. Accordingly, his endeavours were all directed towards this one object, exciting discontent and disobedience.

Those who had succeeded in destroying one Government by the infernal agency of Jacobin clubs, knew their utility too well to neglect employing them against another. The Jacobins had hurled the King of France from his throne, and the democrats might hurl General Washington from his chair. It is something truly singular, that a celebrated *astronomer* and a *Secretary of State*, should be the *President* and *Secretary* of the mother-club in each country; it is, however, a fact, *Bailly* and *Dumouriez* once filled those honourable posts in France, as *David Rittenhouse* and *A. J. Dallas* did in the first club that was formed in America.

On the plan, and at the recommendation of the mother-club at Philadelphia, others were formed all over the Union. Their affiliations were as perfect in their nature as those of the Jacobins in France, or of the reformers in England and Scotland, and the principles and object of all were the same. It would be tedious to enter into a detail of their manoeuvres, and disagreeable also, as it would not fail to bring to mind the conduct of many persons who now wish their folly to be forgotten.

When the Citizen saw that the clubs were become numerous, and thought that things were ripe, he made an open avowal of his intentions of "appealing from the President to the people." This precipitant avowal, dictated by French vanity, happily disconcerted all his plans. The hectoring Minister was mistaken; he thought he had the poor-doltish Parisians to deal with, but he was soon convinced of the contrary. The people of America, though their partiality for the French nation, and their still
greater

greater partiality for what they *then* imagined to be the cause of freedom, had led them into innumerable fooleries, and distinctions as unwise as unjust, showed, when it came to the trial, that they had too much love for their country, and for their friend and father, to espouse the cause of a man who aimed at the destruction of both *.

From the moment the insolent Brissotonian found himself baffled, his myrmidons began to cry havoc. They attacked the citizens of Charleston at the door of their playhouse, cut the traces of their coach-horses, wounded several persons, and, if I am not mistaken, killed one or two. The militia were called out, and the city was struck with terror. Not long after an American had his skull cleft on board of one of their vessels, for a pretended *insult to their tri-coloured cockade*. Many persons of this city of Philadelphia had the mortification to see their peace-officers hacked with swords in the middle of the street †. And yet we are now told, that “it seems *impossible*” that the Government of France should attempt “any thing against our neutrality.”

I know I shall be told here to make a distinction between the rulers in France and their ministers in this country; and I would do this, if I saw the least reason for so doing; if I were not well convinced that the latter have in no case surpassed their instructions. The friends of the French Government make this distinction, and tell us that Genet was

* The French republicans assert, with their usual insolence, that the *people* of this country began to express their dislike to Genet only when they found he was recalled. This is false. The democratic societies indeed played him this trick; but the *people* expressed their detestation of his conduct, and that most unequivocally too, the instant he talked of his *appeal*.

† How all the offenders came to escape punishment is a question to be put to the Governor of Pennsylvania and others, who ought to have seen the laws executed.

recalled for his misconduct. The turbulent Minister was indeed *displaced*; but the manner of doing this fully proves, that it was a matter of expediency and not of choice. His masters, and the masters of unhappy France, could not reject the President's request, without disgusting the people of this country, who must have looked on such a step as a decided mark of approbation of Genet's insolence; nor could they call home without punishing him. Therefore, at once to preserve the good-will of the Americans and avoid the punishment of a man whose conduct they did in reality approve of, they dismissed him from his employment, and left him quietly amongst us, where, besides, it was possible for him still to act, though unseen, as the showman behind the canvass gives movement and volubility to his puppets*.

Let it be recollected too, that Genet was displaced by Robespierre and his crew, and I leave any one to determine whether the merciful Robespierre, the very prince of cut-throats, could disapprove of the plans of our Long Islander. The gentle Robespierre did indeed send us word that it pained his humane and generous soul to think that the Representative of a *great* and *brave* nation should so disobey its will; but we should have asked this bloody villain, what he would have said, if Genet had succeeded in his "appeal from the President to the people." Genet was displaced, because he had failed, and not because he had attempted our destruction. Robespierre has been aptly termed the *scape-goat* of the Convention, in France; and Genet may with equal aptness be termed their *scape-goat* in America.

* If some good soul would but give us a peep into the dispatches that now and then go over to Long Island, we should, perhaps, see some more "precious confessions."

The insurrection in the western counties of Pennsylvania was undoubtedly a great evil, but much good has been derived from it. This insurrection was imputed to the machinations of Great Britain; and as people's ears were all open to every thing, however absurd, that was advanced against that nation, it is not wonderful that many very well meaning men marched against the insurgents with a full expectation of finding them under the command of the Governor of Upper Canada. This was sinning against conviction certainly; but what errors will not men plunge into when blinded by prejudice and pricked on by revenge? Most people were heartily ashamed of having been the dupes of this trick, long before the appearance of Citizen Fauchet's intercepted letter; but that truly inestimable Essay on bribery and corruption has placed the whole matter in a fair light, and, as the saying is, "clapped the saddle on the right horse."

Every man who seeks for truth and not for falsehood, will regret with me, that we are not in possession of the famous No. 2 and No. 6, mentioned in Citizen Fauchet's letter, and of the other dispatches preceding that letter. Had we the perusal of these precious pieces, we might enter into some detail: not having them, we must content ourselves with proceeding like mathematicians, from the known to the unknown.

We know that the same man who was Secretary to the first Jacobin society in this country, and who afterwards denied his report concerning the "appeal from the President to the people;" we know that this man is named in the intercepted letter, amongst the three or four who were balancing to decide on their party, when the overtures for money were made to the French Minister.

We know that all the leaders in the insurrection, as well as their partisans here, were then, and are

now, the decided supporters of France in opposition to Great Britain. If we look back to the meetings of the insurgent Committees, we shall there find the names of two members of the present House of Representatives; and if we turn to the *yeas* and *nays* of that House, we shall find them both voting against the British treaty, and opposing every measure of the Federal Government*.

We know that poor Citizen Fauchet expressed his severe regret at the failure of the insurrection; and surely we know that when a man expresses his regret at the failure of an enterprise, it is certain he wished it to succeed. After having justified the cause of the insurgents, and whined out their discomfit, he says, "Thus will the Government acquire stability, *for one complete session at least!* Who knows what will be the limits of *this triumph?* Perhaps advantage will be taken of it to obtain some laws for *strengthening the Government!*" I was tempted to throw in an *alas* or two here; nothing else is wanting to render the passage truly pathetic; as thus: 'My dear masters, in spite of my teeth this Government will *last one session longer at least!* *Alas!* who knows what may be the limits of this triumph over our brothers? Perhaps the Government may be strengthened, and then, oh hell! we shall never be able to knock it down.'

Let the reader well remember, that those dreadful forebodings of Citizen Fauchet are to be found in a confidential dispatch, intended for the perusal of the Convention only. It is from documents like this, and not from public declarations, that we are to judge of

* When I said in the First Part of the *Bone to Gnaw*, that the enemies of Great Britain were invariably the enemies of the Federal Government, the good democrats affected to laugh at me: let them deny this now if they can. I defy even their impudence to deny the fact.

the dispositions of a foreign Government. Suppose, for instance, a letter from the British Minister had been intercepted, containing expressions of his regret at the success of the Government in quelling the insurrection, and justifying the conduct of the insurgents—what would then have been seen? Need I ask this? Poor man! The Lord have mercy upon him, if he had remained here after the discovery. Our language is copious, and particularly in terms of execration; but I am mistaken if enough would have been found. Those who talk High-Dutch would have had an advantage, as it is said a man can curse harder in that language than in any other.

Fauchet was recalled; and as no misconduct was imputed to him, he went home, you see. But here is one circumstance that I must beg the good reader to attend to, and that is, that Citizen Joseph was called away *after a defeat*, just as his renowned predecessor was. As soon as it was known in France, that Father Joseph's fatal dispatch had fallen into the hands of the English Ministry, it was perceived that the writer would become odious here; that he would always be suspected by the Government, and that his friends would be afraid to trust their *precious confessions* to his ear. How kind was it then to recall him, and send another, whom no mortal man could ever think of suspecting? No, certainly not; it would be hard, indeed, to suspect a third. The most unfortunate gamblers reckon with confidence upon a good throw out of three*.

The

* Having stumbled upon the word *Gamblers*, it puts me in mind of the *Faro Banks*, *Gaming Tables* and *Gambling Lotteries*, in all about two hundred, now in this city. These noble institutions we owe entirely to the French; and when we add to these the paganish calendar, and the Age of Reason, must we not blush to think that these generous enlighteners of the world are still obliged

The third (and I hope the last) fair trial of the strength of French influence was the attempt to set aside the British treaty. Here it failed also; but we are not to conclude that, because it failed, it never was made. For my part, I am confident the trial was made, and have not the least doubt that it would have succeeded, had it not been for a *disappointment*.

It would be useless to repeat here what has been so often said respecting the conduct of poor Mr. Randolph, at the time of the ratification, or, to go over all the manœuvres of the partisans of France, from the moment the treaty first arrived in this country till the meeting of Congress. Still less necessary is it to enter into a detailed account of what has passed since that time, as it is fresh in every one's memory. One fact, however, I must relate here, as it is well worthy of attention.

In the *Censor* for April, it was remarked, that "the petition against the treaty, said to be signed by fifteen hundred citizens of Philadelphia, was carried round for signature by a *Frenchman*." To this I have now to add, that in the State of New Jersey, two *Frenchmen* went about soliciting signatures to another petition of the same import. The person who was so obliging as to furnish this information, saw them at a public house pressing people to sign. He was himself prevailed on to do so; but thinking, upon recollection, that he had done wrong, he returned to the house and scratched out his name. Would to God that numbers of his countrymen were as ready to correct their errors!

to cry out on our *ingratitude*? How much better are all these pretty things than the nasty broad-cloths and linens we get from those sad dogs the British! And yet we make a treaty with them! O fye!

After

After having given this short sketch of the history of French influence down to the time when, as our Paris intelligence states, it was to break out into action, let us compare that intelligence with the situation of things on this side of the water. A few sentences will suffice.

The substance of the Paris intelligence is this: “that certain influential men in America had entered into a negotiation with the French Government, the result of which was, France was to oblige the Executive of the United States to abandon the treaty with Great Britain, by threatening it with a war in case of refusal; but that this project, the writer believed to be laid aside on the 14th of February.” On the 24th of March, Mr. Livingston’s motion passed by a majority of *twenty-five*. This was only 38 days after France had given up the project. On the 28th of April, 35 days later, this *frightful majority* changed into a *minority*, and the treaty passed very quietly. This was 63 days after France had given up the project. So that it is possible that this might be known when the latter vote was taken, and not when the former one was.

I by no means pretend to say, that any unfavourable news from France had an influence on these votes; on the contrary, I am, alas! (as Citizen Fauchet says) too well convinced of the purity of the Opposition, to suppose that they, or any of them, could be the “*influential men*” hinted at in the extract. No, no; God forbid I should think any such thing. Mercy on us all! they, poor men, changed their votes because their constituents changed their notes. It is these constituents who are to blame then, and, of course, the “*influential men*” are to be found among them. Now constituents are every body, and every body is nobody; and thus you see, reader, we all of us draw ourselves decently out of the scrape.

Letter

Letter from GOVERNOR SHELBY, to OLIVER WOLCOTT, Secretary of the Treasury.

SIR,

I have been informed, that in a letter addressed by you during the last session of Congress to the Chairman of a Committee of the House of Representatives, you stated, "that for want of a district attorney in Kentucky, no duties could be collected; that the Governor himself refused to pay; and that the people sheltered themselves under his example. For the satisfaction of the public, I shall state a few facts concerning this business: I rented out my distillery in August, 1792; previous to which, no application had been made to me by any excise officer to measure my stills, or to take an entry of them; I continued to rent out my stills from that time until the latter end of the year 1793, and the tenants gave me their bonds to keep me indemnified from any demands that might be made on me for the excise during that period. I then took them again into my possession, and commenced working of them in January, 1794. About the month of April following, I was applied to by an excise officer (for the first time) for the duties of that year. I informed him of the time I had taken my distillery into possession, and that I did not conceive any duties could then be due from the time I had commenced working my distillery; which he appeared satisfied with. He removed shortly afterwards out of the country, and there was not (to my knowledge) an excise officer in it until about the month of January or February, 1795. I was then called upon to make an entry of my stills from June, 1794, which I did immediately: After I had done this, the officer asked me if I would pay the arrearages. I told him I did not know whether the law required it of me, that I would take counsel on the subject; and that if I found the law did require it of me, that I would pay them on the first application, otherwise

wife I would not. He said he was not bound to call a second time to demand them : I told him if he did not choose to do so, he might execute his duty immediately, and take my property. This he did not do, but went away. I was shortly afterwards advised that the law would not compel me to pay the arrearages ; but when the duties from June, 1794, to June, 1795, became due, I counted out and laid by itself the amount of what was due from me for that period, that the officer, when he called again, might have occasion to stay as short a time as possible in my house. No application of any kind has since that time been made to me by any excise officer ; and I found upon inquiry that I could not procure a permit to remove whiskey which I had distilled between June, 1794, and June, 1795, owing to the want of an officer in the county. I have very lately been obliged to apply personally to the officer who is at this time acting in the county, to receive the taxes due from me for that period, and from June, 1795, to June, 1796.

From this statement of facts, the public will find that your assertion, as far as it concerns me, is false ; and I believe it to be equally groundless, as far as it concerns the distillers in general within this State. I have no doubt but that it will be found, upon an impartial inquiry, that the distillers have paid considerable sums on account of the excise ; and that it has been owing to the neglect or misconduct of the officers of Government, that the duties have not been universally collected from June, 1794.

It is a matter of indifference to me whether you fabricated your false statement yourself, or received it from others : having made it, you are responsible for the truth of it : but as the distance between us renders a personal application to you impracticable, I shall upon this, and all future occasions, where you may use my name improperly, take the liberty
of

of assuring you, in this public manner, that I despise you most heartily.

ISAAC SHELBY.

To ISAAC SHELBY, *late Governor of Kentucky.*

SIR,

Having very unexpectedly met with a publication of yours addressed to Oliver Wolcott, I could not avoid reading it, because I like to know whatever is said to or of public officers in high station; especially by one who has been, or is himself in office. I found it was intended to refute a charge, which you say was made against you, *of having refused to pay the excise.* Judge then with what regret, as a friend of yours, I perceived, that your own words furnish the fullest evidence of your guilt. My dear Sir, I would have you consider (and I wish I had been by you to have said it, before you thus committed yourself), that the public, for whose satisfaction you were so good as to write, is made up, as relative to yourself, of two sorts of people, that is to say, friends and foes; and that while you should cautiously avoid furnishing matter of scandal to the latter, you should be no less careful not to render your defence too difficult for the former. In the present case, Sir, the weight of this observation is felt with different kinds, but equal degrees of sensibility on both sides; there being much subject of ridicule or slander, while there is but little ground for defence. For example—Had you said, That as for what Oliver Wolcott has said of me, it is a damned lie! and I despise him, whether he made it or not; and added nothing more, your enemies could only have said, that you were an inconsiderate, vulgar blackguard, which you know would have been true enough. But then your friends, admitting that, would have believed you, and all to a man would have stood up for your credibility. But,
alas!

alas! what are they now to think, what can they say, when you state, as a part of the charge against you (and the material part), "That the Governor himself refused to pay?" and in another place admit, that, when required to pay, you *declined*?—a modest word for *refused*; to be sure. You wanted counsel—if the law required it, you would pay; otherwise you would not. You took counsel—you were advised not to pay, and you did not pay. Now what were you charged with? That you refused to pay.—What have you admitted? That you refused to pay.—What have the people done? Refused to pay. They too had legal advice! Yet you tell Mr. Wolcott that the charge is false. You must perceive, Sir, from all this, that it is as difficult to defend your reputation for veracity, as it is to prove you a polite gentleman. Indeed, Sir, permit me to add, and be assured that I do it with much reluctance, that your friends, driven to despair, find themselves obliged to abandon you in both points to the pity or contempt of your enemies. Yet, Sir, there are other points in your case, which interest them extremely, and upon which they promise to bestow their best endeavours, being fully impressed with the truth of an observation, that there are but few characters wholly destitute of merit, or any cause so bad, as not to furnish some favourable topics.

You, Sir, have assumed as a part of the charge, "that the people sheltered themselves under your example;" and this you deny. Now, Sir, how much better it would have been, had you passed this part of the subject over in silence! For you know that the people did refuse to pay; but this, it is admitted, you do not mean to deny. You deny only, "that they sheltered themselves under your example;" and admitting, also, that you were so insignificant in common estimation, as to render your example of no influence; yet I find it impossible, with all my ingenuity,

nuity, to defend your confession of the fact, from the imputation of weakness, or to reconcile it to that love of notice and distinction, which is but too obvious to be denied, even in your address to Mr. Wolcott.

Again, Sir, it is said, that your statement of facts is partial and unconnected ; from whence is inferred your want of honesty toward that public for whose satisfaction you profess to make it. You may be sure that I demanded with promptitude an instance that could give rise to so gross a calumny as I then thought it. For, however irritable, imprudent, rash, or rude, you may be, I could have vouched against the world for your candour. What then must have been my confusion, when it was remarked, that you had taken particular notice that no officer had called on you to measure or take entry of your stills, as an apology for not paying within a period, which the law made it the duty of the distiller to call at an office and make entry of his stills ? Now, Sir, did you, while the law required it of you, as the owner of stills, make lawful entry at the office ? If you did, you should have said so. If you did not, then why do you represent that the officer did not do what you should have done ?

Sir, there are many other observations made on your letter, which the compass I have prescribed to myself will not permit me to notice : at the same time, there are others which are too flagrant to escape attention. I have not a word to say about the conduct of the officers of excise, not even for Mr. Wolcott ; I leave that to themselves and their betters, any further than I think you concerned.

You say, "it is a matter of indifference to you whether Mr. Wolcott fabricated his falsehood, or received it from others"—that he was equally responsible ; and that as you could not see him personally, you would tell him publicly, that you despised him
most

most heartily—that is as much as you could. Now, for shame! what a gross idea you present us of your morality! What! make no difference between a man's fabricating a falsehood, and his transmitting information in the line of his duty, which he might have received with evidences of truth sufficient to induce his belief! Is it, Sir, owing to this want of discrimination in moral subjects, that you so little regard what you write yourself? And do you believe that the public will as readily excuse you for a falsehood of your own making, as if you barely reported what you had heard and believed? If you do, then we can discern your consistency. If you do not, then learn to judge as you would be judged.

Having, Sir, thus gone over the most embarrassing parts of your publication, and incidentally noticed such observations as have occurred, I find myself much relieved by the prospect of ground much more tenable, and which I shall now make haste to occupy.

It is this, Sir, that, although you have *declined*, that is, *refused* to pay the excise, previous to June, 1794, you have entered your stills from that time, and are now disposed to pay. Nay, so anxious have you been to pay, that *lately* you called on the officer for that purpose. Now what can you say, you vile calumniators! against Governor Shelby? Dare you ask if he entered his stills before the insurrection in the western parts of Pennsylvania was quelled? He tells you he entered them in 1795. Dare you ask, when he paid the first excise? He tells you that he lately offered to pay it. Was this after he was told what Mr. Wolcott had said of him? Hush your impertinence! Was Governor Shelby a friend to the democratic societies? Did he countenance the project of Genet, to raise an armed force in Kentucky? Let him alone! he is on the stool of repentance. Don't you perceive how much ashamed he

he is of his former conduct, and how he labours to excuse it? Have you not already assurances of his reformation? Do you not discern in him the timid sinner who has not virtue enough to avoid a crime—nor effrontery sufficient to avow it? Let him alone! there is an attorney appointed to that district; and so long as he can be made to fear the lash of the law, the United States may count with certainty upon his fidelity.

And now, Sir, if I have written as much to the public as yourself, I have your example for so doing, which, if not my pride, must be my apology*.

A. B.

The Author's Complaint.—The following complaint is taken from Brown's Gazette. "The author" is a hair-dresser, named MURDOCK, who (poor man!) dreamt, in evil hour, that he was born a poet. Of his play it may be truly said, that it is the most abominable nonsense that ever issued from the skull of a coxcomb, a *republican* coxcomb, who is always ten degrees more foolish than coxcombs of any other species. But, to the complaint.

"MR. BROWN, Knowing that a great number of citizens are daily expecting to hear 'The Triumphs of Love, or Happy Reconciliation,' announced for performance, it is requisite they should be informed how that piece is situated by a fair recital of facts.

"Occasionally visiting the theatre, I was at times much disgusted to see and hear pieces performed *so foreign to the circumstances of a republican people*, which excited me, at my *leisure moments*, to *throw my ideas into a train*, to *produce a drama*, which would

* This letter is now first published (in the Porcupine's Works), from the manuscript which was handed to me just after Shelby's letter appeared in the public papers of Philadelphia.

be consonant to the *ears of Americans*. Upon accomplishing a piece, and aware of the *foible of human nature* of being too partial to what originates with ourselves, I put it for perusal into the hands of several persons, most of whom I knew to be *judges of that peculiar species of writing*. It was returned with *high encomiums*. I was requested by them to submit it to the managers of the New Theatre. I pursued their advice; it lay with them some weeks—they finally *rejected it*. I informed the gentlemen of their decision; they were *not a little surprised*, and expressed themselves in terms of *indignation*: there matters rested—the piece was thrown aside, to sleep, as I suppose, the sleep of death. The *flower* was *born*, and born, as I expected, to *blush unseen* for ever from public view; but upon the opening the New Theatre on the ensuing season, I was again requested by the alluded to friends of the piece, to present it once more to the managers. I replied, it was in vain; *comparatively speaking*, it would be like opposing a feather to a strong *north-wester*. I told them I thought I discovered a confirmed temper in the managers to trample upon *native productions*; they wished me to give it up to them, and leave it to *their management*: I accordingly did. They waited upon the managers with it—were promised by them to pay it due attention. It remained with them a length of time without receiving a direct answer, though they were frequently importuned to give one, or return the play. At last, beyond the eleventh hour, it was *shoved* into the world most unmercifully dissected, by what was called by the managers “*necessary expunging*,” yet, notwithstanding its mutilated state, it was received with the *strongest marks of approbation*, by one of the most respectable audiences the house ever contained. That, and the *flattering compliments* I had paid me the next day, joined with the desire

of many to have it printed, induced me to have it published: *by so doing I am out of pocket*. Some time ago I lent the managers a *second composition*—a farce, in two acts. I informed them how I was circumstanced with respect to the first, and observed, if they played the two in concert, with spirit, there was no doubt, that, in all *human probability*, they would have an *overflowing house*, and would give a start to the sale of my first piece: but they were not disposed to perform either. The reasons given were not supported by the most forcible arguments.

I shall conclude, by asserting to the managers, in the *full face* of the public, that the Triumphs of Love, or Happy Reconciliation, with the imperfections which they or those *who influence them*, may charge it with, as it was well received in the first instance, has an undoubted right of taking its place or chance in the early part of this season with other pieces*.

THE AUTHOR.

The following is the letter received by the Committee of Congress appointed to inquire into the situation of the son of General La Fayette:

“*Ramapagh, New-Jersey, March 28, 1796.*

[TRANSLATION.],

“SIR, I have just received the honourable resolution, which the merits of my father have procured for me. Deign to express to the Representatives of the people of America *his* gratitude: my youth forbids me yet to speak of mine. Every day recalls to

* In spite of all this, the poor barber's play, which, incredible as it may seem, was worse than the worst of Reynolds's or Moreton's, was condemned to everlasting obscurity.

me what he taught me, at every period of his life, so full of vicissitude, and what he has repeated in a letter, written from the depth of his prison : ‘ I am convinced (he says), that the goodness of the United States, and the tenderness of my paternal friend, will need nothing to excite them.

“ Arrived in America, some months since, I live in the country, in New-Jersey, occupied in the pursuits of my education. I have no wants ; if I had felt any, I should have answered to the paternal solicitude of the President of the United States, either by confiding them to him, or by accepting his offers. I shall hereafter consider it a duty to impart them to the House of Representatives, which deigns to inquire into my situation.

“ I am as happy as a continual inquietude relative to the object of my first affections will permit. I have found benevolence wherever I have been known, and have often had the satisfaction of hearing those who were ignorant of my connexions, speak of their interest in the fate of my father, express their admiration of, and partake the gratitude I feel for the generous Dr. Bullman, who has done so much to break his chains.

“ It is amid all these motives of emulation, that I shall continue my studies ; every day more convinced of the duties which are imposed by the goodness of Congress, and the names I have the honour to bear,

“ GEO. WASHINGTON MOTIER LA FAYETTE.

“ *The Hon. Edward Livingston,*

“ *Chairman, &c.*”

I have no objection to this young sprig of rebellion being supported by the *Whigs* of America ; they were weak and wicked enough to employ the father, and they ought to have the charge of supporting the children entailed upon them unto the third and fourth generation ; but I see no reason why those

who never accepted of the services of the father, should be *compelled* to pay towards the maintenance of the son. Why should the honest and peaceable part of the people of America be taxed for the purpose of giving a splendid establishment to a French boy? If Livingston and others of the same stamp have such a regard for Fayette as they pretend to have, let them put their hands in their *own* pockets, and not rob the farmers of America, who neither know nor care any thing about the descendants of the wretch that betrayed his king, and plunged his country into misery. That generosity is very cheap, which is gratified by giving away the money of others. There is, indeed, an apology for Ned Livingston, who might probably put his hand in his pocket, twice before he would find a dollar; but let him then suppress his *generous* feelings, till his own debts are paid, and not squander away the money of the public.

Besides, if the public money is to be bestowed on those who rendered service to the cause of the rebellion, why are not the poor Irish and Americans to have some small share of it? How many hundreds and thousands of the poor fellows who fought for "*liberty*," have now the mortification to come begging in vain for a trifling relief from the men for whose exaltation they were stupid enough to sacrifice their time, their property, their health, and their limbs? There are hundreds, who were *commissioned officers* even, during the whole of the rebellion, and who are now in misery the most complete. As an instance of this kind, I here insert the copy of a begging petition, which a most miserable-looking creature presented at my door about six weeks ago.

" *To Thomas M^cKean, Esq. Doctor of Laws, and Chief Justice of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.*

" The humble petition of John Lochman, surgeon, during the late war, in the army of the United States, humbly sheweth, that your petitioner, having almost lost the use of his limbs, by the exertions which he made, and the hardships which he suffered *in the glorious cause of liberty and independence*; and being now poor and penniless, having had his bed sold from under him, and his aged wife, &c. &c. &c."

Then followed this certificate :

" We do certify, that we have long known the above John Lochman, and that we know his case to be what it is stated in his petition.

(Signed)

" ROBERT HARRIS.

" JOHN STEEL.

" HENRY HORNBERGER."

" *I do not see why charitable persons may not contribute to the support of the above John Lochman, and I have given him a dollar ! (4s. 3d. sterling.)*

(Signed)

" THOMAS M^cKEAN."

" *Philadelphia,*

" *24th October, 1794.*"

This requires no comment. It is a wholesome lesson to those who may in future be tempted to bear arms against their lawful sovereign. Had this poor man been a *loyalist* soldier, he would not have been left to beg his bread in his old age, and to receive a pitiful alms from a little, upstart tyrant, whose *charity* even is bestowed in a manner well calculated to kill the receiver of it.

I shall close this Censor with recording an account of the rejoicings for peace, in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1783. After the Reader has gone through it, let him recollect that, on the very spot where the triumphal arch was erected, and where

Louis the XVIth was thus flattered, even there, at this very moment, the citizens of Philadelphia are entertained, amused, and delighted, with an exhibition of this same Louis XVI. suffering, in effigy, under the axe of the guillotine, which forty times a day severs his head from his body, amidst the applauding shouts of those who crawled to him like spaniels in the year 1783 ! A striking instance of the baseness and ingratitude of Republicans.

Philadelphia.—In Assembly, Tuesday, December 2d, 1783, A. M.

The report of the Committee, read November 29th, relative to the preparations to be made for public demonstrations of joy, was read the second time, and adopted as follows, viz.

The Committee appointed to confer with Council concerning the public demonstrations of joy it may now be proper to authorize in this State, upon the definitive treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, beg leave to report, as the joint opinion of that Board and your Committee—

That a triumphal arch be erected at the upper end of High or Market Street, between Sixth and Seventh Streets, to be embellished with illuminated paintings and suitable inscriptions ; and that some fireworks be prepared for the occasion.

That such an exhibition, in point of elegance, as well as in regard to the convenience and safety of the spectators, will prove most generally acceptable ; it being intended there should be no other illumination in the city : that these preparations may be completed in three or four weeks, and will require, by the most exact computation they could at present make, about five or at most six hundred pounds : And therefore,

Resolved, That a sum not exceeding six hundred pounds be, and is hereby appropriated for the purpose of enabling the supreme Executive Council to make public demonstrations of joy upon the definitive treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain.

As these demonstrations of joy are prescribed and regulated by the directions and at the expense of the State, it is expected, that no person or persons whatever will presume, in defiance of the authority of the Commonwealth, to require or to make any other demonstrations of joy upon the occasion, than those directed and authorized as aforesaid.

A Description of the Triumphal Arch and its Ornaments.

The arch is fifty feet and six inches wide, and thirty-five feet and six inches high, exclusive of the balustrade, which is three feet and nine inches in height. The arch is fourteen feet wide in the

the clear, and each of the smaller arches nine feet. The pillars are of the *Ionic* order. The entablature, all the other parts, and the proportions, correspond with that order; and the whole edifice is finished in the style of architecture proper for such a building, and used by the Romans. The pillars are adorned by spiral festoons of flowers in their natural colours.

The following devices and inscriptions are distributed in the several parts appropriated by the ancients to such ornaments.

I. Over the centre arch, the temple of Janus shut.

Numine favente

Magnus ab integro sæculorum nascitur ordo.

By the Divine favour

A great and new order of ages commences.

II. On the south side of the balustrade, a bust of Louis XVI.

Merendo memores facit.

His merit makes us remember him.

III. On the other side of the balustrade, a pyramidal cenotaph to the memory of those brave men who have died for their country in the late war.

Ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi.

These received their wounds for their country.

IV. On the south side of the frize, three lilies, the arms of France.

Gloriam superant.

They exceed glory.

V. On the left of the former, a plough, sheaves of wheat, and a ship under sail, the arms of Pennsylvania.

Terra suis contenta bonis.

A land contented with its own blessings.

VI. On the left of the preceding, a sun, the device of France, —and thirteen stars, the device of the United States.

Cœlo sociati.

Allied in the heavens.

VII. On the left of the last, two hands joined, holding branches of olive and the caduceus of commerce.

Concordia gentium.

The concord of nations.

VIII. On the south pannel, confederated America leaning upon a soldier, military trophies on each side of them.

Fides exercitûs.

The fidelity of the army.

IX. On the other pannel, Indians building churches in the wilderness.

Ponunt ferocia corda.

Their savage hearts become mild.

X. On the dye of the south pedestal, a library, with instruments and emblems of arts and sciences.

Emolliunt mores.

These soften manners.

XI.

XI. On the dye of the next pedestal, a large tree bearing thirteen principal and distinct branches loaded with fruit.

Robore stipitis maturabunt.

By the strength of the body these will ripen.

XII. On the dye of the pedestal upon the right hand in passing through the centre arch, Cincinnatus, crowned with laurel, returning to his plough—the plough adorned with a wreath of the same—the countenance of Cincinnatus is a striking resemblance of General Washington.

Victrix virtus.

Victorious virtue.

XIII. On the dye of the next pedestal, militia exercising.

Protegentes gaudebunt.

Protecting they shall enjoy.

On the spandrels of the centre arch these letters, S. P. Q. P.

The Senate and People of Pennsylvania.

The top of the balustrade is embellished with figures representing the cardinal Virtues, Justice, Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude.

The whole building illuminated by about twelve hundred lamps.

Directions will be put up in Market Street near Fifth Street, for having the following regulations observed, in order that the citizens may have an opportunity of viewing and examining the exhibition with the greatest convenience and satisfaction to themselves:

1st, Persons walking will please to advance towards the exhibition by the ways on the outside of the foot-pavements, which lead in straight lines from Fifth Street through the side arches. Those that advance on the south side, after passing the south arch, will turn on the left hand down Market Street on the foot-pavement to Fifth Street. Those who advance on the north side, after passing the north arch, will turn on the right hand down Market Street on the foot-pavement to Fifth Street. In this manner they may pass and return as often as they choose.

2d, Persons on horseback or in carriages are to advance in the middle of Market Street, and passing through the centre arch, continue on to Seventh Street; then turning to the right or left, return by Arch Street or Chestnut Street, to Fifth Street, and so pass and return as often as they please.

Any boys or others, who disturb the citizens by throwing squibs or crackers, or otherwise, will be immediately apprehended and sent to the workhouse!!!

THE END OF CENSOR, NO. IV.

AND OF

VOLUME III.

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